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ART. I.—*Census of Great Britain.* Number and Distribution of the People. Ages of the People. Conjugal or Civil Condition of the People. Occupations and Birth-places of the People. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.

2. *The Results of the Census of Great Britain in 1851.* London: Edward Cheshire; John W. Parker & Son.

THE census of Great Britain when first taken in 1801 was little more than an enumeration or roll-call of the people. Decade by decade, however, its range has been extended;—first, the ages came to be enumerated, and then the birth-places and occupations, and the last census has further embraced the conjugal or civil condition, the provision for religious worship and the extent of the private and public educational means of the nation. Although it cannot be affirmed that the details on each of these primary indications of the nation's status and condition are equally complete and exhaustive, it is unquestionable that they furnish data sufficiently accurate for a safe induction on many deeply interesting and some warmly contested questions of economic and social science. The indications, too, both of the habits of the people and the state of manners and of morals are many and significant; whilst the distinct and minute particulars which are afforded in the census of the occupations of the people, furnish ample means for determining with considerable precision the nature and value of the national industry, the degree in which it has availed itself of the aids of science, its effects in determining the aggregation of the population; and, as a collateral result, of rendering more potent and intense all the

means of social and intellectual progress, though not without intensifying also some of the causes of social and moral disorder.

The compass of a notice like the present altogether precludes the attempt, at a sketch merely, of all the great facts and conclusions of the census. Some of those facts and conclusions have already been dwelt upon in the 'Eclectic,' and will be referred to only as they may be necessary for the purpose of elucidating new conclusions. The main object now proposed is to develop the character of the nation's industry, and from that development to draw certain conclusions which it seems logically to warrant, relative to the state of the productive arts, and the social and moral condition of the people at large. A passing notice, however, must not be omitted on two important points,—firstly, the movement and distribution of the people, and, secondly, the relative ages of the people.

It was shown in a former article, that the proportions of the population located in the rural and the town districts respectively, are nearly equal, the former numbering 10,403,189, and the latter 10,556,288. It was also shown that more than *one-third* of the population is comprised in six principal manufacturing counties, and that, adding to these the population of London, the aggregate is nearly *one-half* the population of England and Wales, leaving the other half to the remaining thirty-two counties,—namely, twenty-two agricultural, three mining, and seven mixed agricultural and manufacturing counties. The table exhibiting these proportions is reproduced here, because the figures will be again referred to in the subsequent portion of this article.

| | ENGLAND. | | |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| | Population. 1801. | Population. 1851. | Increase. 1801 to 1851. |
| Six manufacturing counties | 2,007,088 | 5,599,940 | 178 per cent. |
| Seven mixed manufacturing and agri- cultural counties | 1,007,582 | 2,226,031 | 121 „ |
| Two metropolitan counties | 1,087,172 | 2,562,627 | 130 „ |
| Three mining counties | 394,212 | 899,176 | 128 „ |
| Twenty-two agricultural counties | 3,835,280 | 5,602,234 | 48 „ |
| Total | 8,331,434 | 16,881,008 | 102 per cent. |

It would be a very absurd conclusion to suppose that these differences in the growth of the population, in the several sections of counties, as indicated in the last column, have arisen from corresponding differences in the prolificness of marriages. Not only is such a conclusion at variance with fact, but the tables of the census, which show the birth-places of the people in counties,

demonstrate that the more rapid growth of the four first groups as compared with the fifth group, has arisen from the transference of great numbers, year by year, from the fifth group into each of the others, and in the highest ratio to the metropolitan and the manufacturing counties. It is a moderate estimate, that betwixt the years 1801 and 1851, the vast number of 2,000,000 of people, born in the twenty-two agricultural counties, have emigrated into the four other sections of England. The causes of this movement of the population are obvious enough. Agriculture, though greatly improved as an art, demands fewer labourers, relatively to the immensely augmented acreable produce of the soil, whilst the wonderful applications of mechanical and chemical science to the manufacturing arts, and the vast extension of foreign commerce, have opened up an almost indefinite field for enterprise and the employment of labour there. It is equally obvious, too, that the aggregations of the manufacturing population have been determined by certain natural peculiarities in particular sites, such as the proximity of coal, ironstone, and limestone, the abundance of water power, and ready access to safe, capacious, and convenient ports. The movement of the population from the agricultural to the other counties is the principal but not the only one. No less than 2,685,747 persons have emigrated to Canada, the United States, Australia, and other parts of the world, thereby deducting largely, both for the moment, and prospectively, from the numbers of the people of Great Britain ; but at the same time extending English civilization and the English language, and either rapidly augmenting nations of British origin, founded in America during the last two centuries, or peopling new regions where the Anglo-Saxon race seems destined to found a third great offshoot from the original stock, and where, hitherto, though the world has arrived very nearly to 6000 years of duration, civilization has had no habitation. A third great movement of the population has been from Ireland to Great Britain. The cause of this movement need not be pointed out ; the results, however, are interesting and important. The tables of the birth-places of the population show that in 1851, there were in England and Wales 519,959, and in Scotland 207,367 persons of Irish birth. If to these be added the descendants of persons of Irish birth, born in England, it is exceedingly probable that Great Britain contains a million and a half of persons, perhaps more, either born in Ireland or of Irish extraction.

One or two observations must suffice relative to these great movements of the population. The immigration of the rural population in such large numbers into the towns will render more close the connexion of town and country, assimilate

opinion, intelligence, and national character, and soften down, if not entirely obliterate, that feeling of antagonism which, partly owing to the corn-laws, but more to the absence of intercourse, has unquestionably existed betwixt the two great sections of the population—the agricultural and the manufacturing. The growing preponderance of the town population may not be unaccompanied by the development, in greater force, of certain forms of evil, licentiousness, and crime by which great town populations are unhappily characterized; but on the other hand, progress in arts, science, and general intelligence will be advanced, and the standard of national character will be elevated. Rural life may present fewer crimes, and less of gross vice and immorality; but town life presents infinitely more mental energy and enlightenment, and from it emanate principally those powerful agencies and influences which have raised England to what it is as a civilized and great nation, and which are not restricted to the realm of England, but are being felt in every quarter of the globe, and most of all in the new nationalities of far off lands.

The continuance of emigration need not be dreaded. It matters little, save as respects the material strength of the nation, where the sons and daughters of Great Britain are located. They will be off-shoots, not aliens and strangers, and, in a commercial and pecuniary point of view, more advantageous to the mother country than had they remained in their native land. They have, too, a great mission of their own. What that mission is, will be best understood in the contemplation of what English colonization has done for North America. The world will be better for the growth of kindred nationalities in other hemispheres.

The Irish immigration was an Irish necessity and an English difficulty. It had its evils, but the good has preponderated. It relieved Ireland of a dead weight, and supplied England with labour that was wanted. Morally, it was to be deprecated; but it is far from improbable that the final influences of the contact will be much more beneficial to the Irish who have come amongst us than injurious to ourselves. In all probability, the last serious immigration has taken place; all present indications pointing to the development of Ireland's vast resources at no distant day—a development to which the moral elevation and regeneration of her people will be the inevitable corollary.

The CENSUS OF AGE must be merely glanced at. It is deeply interesting, but to do it justice needs a separate notice. The censuses of 1801 and 1811 took no account of the ages of the people, the census of 1821 being the first which included that important element. The most significant fact developed by a comparison betwixt the age-abstracts of 1821 and 1851 is the

greater proportion in the latter year of the population, both male and female, of twenty years of age and upwards :—

Ages of the Population of England and Wales.

| | Under 20 years. | 20 years and upwards. |
|------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1821 | 6,981,068 | 7,441,738 |
| 1851 | 9,558,114 | 11,626,896 |

In the year 1821, the proportions of these sections of ages were 48 and 52. In 1851, they were 45 and 53—showing a considerable augmentation of the number of adults, relatively to the whole population. A similar indication is afforded by a comparison of the number of males above 20 years of age; the number in 1821 being 3,587,600, or 24·8 per cent. of the whole population, and 5,610,777—or 26·6 per cent. in 1851. The men of the military age, 20 to 40, were also more numerous, relatively, in 1851; the numbers in 1821 being 1,966,664, or 13·6 per cent., and 3,193,496, or 15·8 in 1851. Of women of the marriageable age, 20 to 40, the numbers in 1821 were 2,119,385, or 14·7 per cent., and in 1851, 3,362,468, or 15·9 per cent. It follows, that for all purposes of active life, and for the discharge of the great business of society, 1851 is, relatively, stronger, wiser, and more powerful than 1821, other things being alike—that is, supposing the individual adults of 1851 were no stronger, wiser, or more moral than the adults of 1821. But supposing the present generation to have improved in all the essentials of a true civilization on that of 1821, then is the nation stronger and greater not only in the simple ratio of numbers, but in the proportion of its wisest and best, to its least wise and most immature members, and in the intellectual and moral superiority of the individual units of its wisest and best members over the same class in 1821.

The ABSTRACT OF OCCUPATION is the most interesting portion of the census, not excepting the census of religious worship, or of education; for, if these latter show the extent of some of the means of social enlightenment and virtue, the former gives us the measure of that enlightenment and virtue, as it pictures to us the forms and relative proportions of the multifarious pursuits—professional, mercantile, manufacturing, and agricultural—in which the active mind and soul of the nation are daily engaged. It is to be regretted, however, that this department of the census is by no means satisfactory, either as respects classification or nomenclature, but more especially the former. A consciousness of this defect shows itself in the Report, not only in the admission that the ‘classification was framed at an early stage of the work, before either the analysis was undertaken or the nomenclature settled,’* but in the avoidance of all attempt to deduce

* Census of Great Britain, 1851. Vol. I. Report, p. 81.

any broad results from the tables, or to do anything more than point out the principal groups of people engaged in some occupations. True, the materials for generalization and classification are there, in the 1100 or 1200 distinct trades and occupations enumerated; but there still remain errors and defects in nomenclature which prevent the attainment of a strictly accurate and scientific classification. It is most earnestly to be deprecated that another census of occupation should be taken, without a previous and careful settlement, alike of terms and of the principles of classification; and that the settlement should not be made in the bureaucratic fashion which characterizes so much of our legislation and administration, but with the aid and counsel of persons who, though neither principals nor subordinates in office, are placed in a better situation than either to determine nomenclature at least, if not classification. It would not be beneath the dignity of the heads of departments to submit a scheme of analysis and classification to public criticism, or, at the very least, to invite the assistance of competent persons, whether scientific men or practical men of business. An opportunity which occurs once only in ten years is too golden a one to be lost for want of previous preparation.

The defects of the census in the matter of nomenclature are considerable, but one only will be distinctly named. The various classes or grades of persons, juvenile or adult, employed in the great textile manufactures, are comprised under one term—e. g., COTTON MANUFACTURES. Now, under this comprehensive term, there are ranked occupations exceedingly diverse in character, in the physical or intellectual qualifications demanded, in the social position of the persons employed, and in the *artistic*, not to say the *æsthetic* position of the several classes of workmen. The *most skilled* and the *least skilled* classes are thrown into the same heap or category. The specific nature of the occupations and all the conditions of ventilation, juxtaposition with deleterious substances or agencies, exhausting labour, or long hours, as respects specific numbers and ages, cannot be ascertained; and the physiologist is deprived of the exact data on which, combined with the records of births and deaths, he may measure the influence of employment on the vital energy, thereby affecting the duration of life, or in fostering diseases which mar the happiness and indirectly impair the morality of social life.

It is undesirable, and would be very inconvenient, to give very minute details, but it is necessary, for many important purposes, to discriminate the numbers respectively engaged in connexion with steam or water power and those who work apart from it; and further, to give the workmen in each of these sections under several distinct heads, of which the terms *piecer*,

reeler, spinner, and weaver are types. Not only is such a specific analysis essential for many purely scientific purposes, but it is obviously necessary in order to a clear view of the whole organization of the nation's industry, and to ascertain the specific direction of the skill and strength of the people—juvenile and adult—male and female.

The compilers of the Census of Occupations have arranged the whole number of persons, who are returned as following *some* occupation, in seventeen classes, as follows:—

TABLE I.

Census of Occupations—Great Britain, 1851.

| CLASS. | MALES. | | FEMALES. | | Total. |
|---|------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|------------|
| | Under 20 Years of Age. | 20 Years of Age and upwards. | Under 20 Years of Age. | 20 Years of Age and upwards. | |
| The Queen | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 |
| 1. Persons engaged in the general and local government | 1,485 | 71,191 | 89 | 2,526 | 75,291 |
| 2. Persons engaged in the defence of the country | 7,771 | 88,714 | ... | ... | 96,485 |
| 3. Persons in the learned profession and their immediate subordinates | 12,451 | 98,279 | 53 | 1,410 | 112,193 |
| 4. Persons engaged in literature, the fine arts, and the sciences | 4,692 | 41,618 | 8,318 | 64,336 | 118,964 |
| 5. Persons engaged in domestic offices, as wives, children, or relations | 3,389,492 | 21,779 | 3,780,565 | 3,227,150 | 10,418,986 |
| 6. Persons engaged in entertaining, clothing, and performing personal offices | 120,504 | 512,209 | 458,168 | 1,329,292 | 2,420,173 |
| 7. Persons who buy or sell, &c. | 20,372 | 139,389 | 2,690 | 56,010 | 209,461 |
| 8. Persons engaged in the conveyance of men, animals, and goods | 100,345 | 285,686 | 5,423 | 7,479 | 399,933 |
| 9. Persons possessing or working the land and cultivating it | 385,193 | 1,421,354 | 129,600 | 454,421 | 2,390,568 |
| 10. Persons engaged about animals | 12,454 | 86,528 | 225 | 1,055 | 100,262 |
| 11. Persons engaged in art and mechanic productions | 121,928 | 624,503 | 5,288 | 11,617 | 763,336 |
| 12. Persons working and dealing in animal matters | 91,087 | 293,531 | 84,383 | 162,862 | 631,863 |
| 13. Persons working and dealing in vegetable matters | 192,976 | 654,859 | 185,229 | 341,950 | 1,375,014 |
| 14. Persons working and dealing in minerals | 209,970 | 677,476 | 24,428 | 34,330 | 946,204 |
| 15. Labourers—branch undefined | 61,320 | 322,788 | 2,461 | 9,217 | 395,786 |
| 16. Persons of rank or property—not otherwise returned | 614 | 33,681 | 1,868 | 136,536 | 172,699 |
| 17. Persons supported by the community, and of no specified occupation | 17,879 | 39,444 | 15,667 | 84,412 | 157,402 |
| Other persons of no stated occupations or condition | 14,207 | 54,786 | 33,080 | 73,780 | 175,853 |
| Total | 4,764,743 | 5,458,815 | 4,737,535 | 5,999,384 | 20,959,477 |

With some of these little fault can be found, but on others it is impossible to bestow any commendation, and the whole wants coherence, dependence, and logical consecutiveness. It is a

thing of parts, but it has no unity—it is parts only—not a whole, consisting of parts mutually related and dependent. Taken altogether, it gives no clear bird's-eye view of the relative masses of distinct forms of labour, or pursuit, or of their relations, antecedent or consequent. The parts, too, are not homogeneous. Thus in the 12th Class, 'Persons working and dealing in animal matters,' we have grouped together tripe-dealers and woollen cloth manufacturers, fishmongers and silk manufacturers, bone-gatherers and stuff merchants, catgut makers and velvet manufacturers—and so on. The above basis of classification here is the *common occupation of all, some one way and some another in or about animal matter*—whether as butchers slaughtering sheep and oxen, and supplying the animal man with food, or as woollen or silk manufacturers, producing the fabrics which are necessary for warmth, health, ornament, or show. In like manner brewers and bakers, grocers and tobacconists, oil-millers and india-rubber makers, bellows-makers and sawyers, mat-makers and oakum dealers, are included in Class 13, along with linen and cotton manufacturers, muslin and lace manufacturers, *because each of these occupations are about or in some kinds of vegetable matter*. A more strange and grotesque medley surely never met since birds and beasts, insects and reptiles, found refuge in the ark.

It is evident that an arbitrary and even fanciful classification has been adopted, without any careful consideration of the heterogeneous and strange associations and juxtapositions which it would involve. No useful purpose could be answered by making it the basis of conclusions of any value, if the object of such conclusions be to give a scientific portraiture of the organization of the nation's industry. It will, consequently, be disregarded in the main in the further pursuit of the subject of OCCUPATIONS; yet a strictly scientific classification will not be attempted. Reviewers are not government officials, and, like them, drawing from a full purse, *pro rata* to the labour of arranging and classifying the huge mass of details contained in the schedules of the enumerators. It is obvious, too, that several distinct classifications are practicable and desirable, just as distinct kinds of results are sought for. One class of analysers might propose to show the respective numbers of skilled and unskilled labourers, another of producers and distributors, a third of employers, capitalists, &c., on the one hand, and of the receivers of wages on the other; whilst a fourth might divide the whole into a few great masses—say producers of food, producers of clothing, builders of houses and mills, constructors of engines and machines, and of distributors, dividing the last section into distributors of home and foreign products—applicable as food and *as materials* of manu-

factures—applicable to the necessities, comforts, and luxuries of civilized life. It would be a work of no little labour to complete any one of these modes of presenting the subject, and the attempt will not be made here. Nevertheless, as it would be ungracious to find fault with the census classification without offering something different, if not better, the following abstract is given, not as possessing unity, in a scientific point of view, but as throwing together analogous occupations, whether the *manner* and instruments of operation are considered, or the ends to be answered by the commodities produced, and as furnishing data from which to deduce some pertinent conclusions as to the efficiency, power, and character of the national industry.

TABLE II.

Census of Occupations—Great Britain, 1851.

| CLASS. | MALES. | | FEMALES. | | Total. |
|---|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------|
| | Under 20 Years. | 20 Years and upwards. | Under 20 Years. | 20 Years and upwards. | |
| 1.* The Queen and Government ... | 1,485 | 71,191 | 89 | 2,527 | 75,292 |
| 2.* The army, navy, &c. | 7,771 | 88,714 | ... | ... | 96,485 |
| 3.* The learned profession | 12,451 | 98,279 | 53 | 1,410 | 112,193 |
| 4.* Literature, arts, and sciences ... | 4,692 | 41,618 | 8,318 | 64,336 | 118,964 |
| 5. Agriculture | 384,728 | 1,397,256 | 129,485 | 439,900 | 2,351,369 |
| 6. Textile manufactures | 174,573 | 407,321 | 245,622 | 360,582 | 1,188,098 |
| 7. Mining, in metals | 21,693 | 58,402 | 4,667 | 3,212 | 87,974 |
| 8. Ditto coal | 65,644 | 151,722 | 1,295 | 1,354 | 219,015 |
| 9. Manufacturers, in metal | 25,747 | 71,179 | 550 | 649 | 98,125 |
| 10. Blacksmiths and whitesmiths ... | 23,709 | 98,024 | 21 | 606 | 122,360 |
| 11. Machine and engine makers ... | 12,063 | 54,142 | 11 | 43 | 66,259 |
| 12. Shipwrights, dock labourers, &c. | 7,474 | 39,939 | 226 | 246 | 47,885 |
| 13.* Transit, land, river, and sea | 100,345 | 285,686 | 5,423 | 7,479 | 398,933 |
| 14. Building trades | 87,598 | 492,588 | 4,314 | 8,124 | 592,624 |
| 15. Makers of clothing | 73,064 | 341,950 | 114,761 | 418,273 | 978,048 |
| 16. Furnishers and fitters of houses. | 12,638 | 48,402 | 1,447 | 6,857 | 69,344 |
| 17.* Labourers | 54,803 | 312,669 | 1,645 | 7,434 | 376,551 |
| 18. Distributors of food | 54,972 | 351,737 | 3,560 | 128,415 | 538,684 |
| 19. Ditto of manufactures | 25,824 | 105,994 | 5,663 | 36,875 | 174,356 |
| 20. All other occupations | 187,238 | 823,618 | 96,594 | 480,127 | 1,587,577 |
| 21. Servants | 36,739 | 97,605 | 333,226 | 772,785 | 1,240,355 |
| Total of occupations | 1,375,251 | 5,437,036 | 956,970 | 2,771,234 | 10,540,491 |
| 22. Scholars | 1,410,370 | ... | 1,342,457 | ... | 2,752,827 |
| 23. All others,—children, wives, &c. | 1,979,122 | 21,779 | 2,438,108 | 3,227,150 | 7,666,159 |
| Total | 4,764,743 | 5,458,815 | 4,737,535 | 5,998,384 | 20,959,477 |
| | 10,223,558 | | 10,735,919 | | |

Certain of the classes are identical with those of the census, and are marked with a star (*), though it must be noted that some of these are nearly as much open to objection as those specifically condemned above; but it would require more labour than we can bestow on them to render a new arrangement complete and accurate.

The first and most salient indication of the table is the large

proportion of the working to the non-working section of the whole population, it being more than one-half. In a community so highly civilized, and so wealthy, this is a striking fact. It need not be concealed that there are several classes of persons included in the list of *occupations* whose labour does not contribute to the production of the material necessities and convenience of life. This class discharges the business of general oversight, direction, and control—preserves the order and peace of society, and is the guiding intellect rather than the working bone and muscle of the State. Not the less, however, is its occupation of value to the State, for without it the body-politic would realize the old Roman fable of the ‘Members and the Belly,’ and die of inanition—or, worse, by violent convulsion. There is also included in the number following *some* occupation, 1,240,355 domestic servants; but excluding these, as not contributing to the production of commodities of use, but rather to the luxury, comfort, or wants of domestic life, the proportion of the actual workers is considerably more than a comprehensive surface view of society would lead us to expect. This proportion could not exist, except as juvenile labour and adult female labour was rendered available. The adult males of Great Britain, it is shown by the table, with few exceptions, fill some post of utility, follow some profession or trade, or practise some art of production; and excluding domestic servants, 20 years of age and upwards, one-third of the adult females follow some trade or art. Adding to these 1,339,000 males and 623,000 females, under 20 years of age, the total is 3,962,000; showing a ratio of female adult and male and female juvenile labour to male adult labour as 4 to 5½. It would be irrelevant to the purpose of the moment to discuss the question of social and moral gain or loss involved in the large proportion of the labour of juveniles and of female adults; but it is most pertinent to remark that the numbers employed in connexion with factories are insignificant compared with the numbers employed in agriculture and other productive arts. The respective numbers are as follows:

| | JUVENILES. | | ADULT FEMALES. |
|----------------------------------|------------|----------|-------------------|
| | MALES. | FEMALES. | |
| In agriculture | 384,728 | 129,485 | 439,900 |
| Domestic servants | 36,739 | 97,605 | 772,785 |
| Wholesale and retail trade | 80,796 | 9,223 | 165,290 |
| All other occupations | 698,415 | 475,035 | 1,033,677 |
| Total | 1,200,678 | 711,348 | 2,410,652 |
| Factory labour | 174,573 | 245,622 | 360,582 |
| Total | 1,375,251 | 956,970 | 2,771,234 |

Two consolatory conclusions are deducible from these figures. *First*, that admitting, *though only for argument's sake*, factory labour to be physically and morally deteriorating to juveniles and to female adults, the proportion of both to the respective totals is insignificant; and, *second*, that if means could be devised for superseding altogether such labour, the quantity which would have to be absorbed into other branches of occupation is not such as to cause very serious inconvenience, not to say that the possible and even probable process of change may be the entire withdrawal of the numbers so employed from the labour market to the school and the household, in consequence of the augmented energy and productiveness of adult male labour, through the further applications of mechanical and chemical science to the arts of life. As the case stands, the numbers of the people who in some way or other minister to the wants, comforts, and luxuries of life, is a very large proportion of the whole, and compared with 1841, shows an increasing proportion, the numbers of the *non-working population*, so to speak, in that year being 10,977,865, out of a total of 18,844,123, and in 1851 only 10,418,986 out of a population of 20,959,477. This striking fact is partly accounted for by the increased proportion of adults, as already shown; but it does not explain the whole difference; nor is the explanation very obvious. Not so the conclusion—that great activity and industry characterize the people of Great Britain.

A second great indication of the table is the large amount of skilled labour, understanding by that term labour requiring great manual dexterity, more or less knowledge of mechanical and chemical science, and more or less of intellectual culture and development. This general definition would exclude from the table the first four Classes—agriculture (not as *unskilled labour*, but as *not in this particular category of skilled labour*), labourers, distributors, and servants—leaving the following numbers at each age—viz.:

| MALES. | | | FEMALES. | | | TOTAL. |
|-----------|-----------------|-----|-----------|-----------------|-----|-----------|
| Under 20. | 20 and upwards. | | Under 20. | 20 and upwards. | | |
| 791,786 | ... 2,871,973 | ... | 474,931 | ... 1,312,352 | ... | 5,451,242 |

It appears, then, that more than half of the total number who are returned as following some occupation rank as skilled labourers, the extent of skill varying from that which suffices to superintend the simplest movement of a machine, or to dig for coal or ore in the bowels of the earth, to that which can adjust the proportion and put together the parts of the most elaborate machine, or conduct the most difficult processes of chemical science.

A sentimental notion has got abroad, fostered, and indeed originated, by a class of writers who have made the condition and

characteristics of labour the material of a popular literature, that the introduction of machinery and the factory system have tended to the intellectual as well as the physical and moral deterioration of the labourer, thus affording another instance how rarely the poetical is found in connexion with the rigorously philosophic in mental conformation; or, to pass from the abstract to the concrete, how seldom men who are most skilful in seizing individual and class-characteristics—whether of manners, morals, or mental habits—are capable of developing general laws, or of tracing the progress and discriminating the processes of great social facts and changes. The idea alluded to is something like this—machinery simply requires watching, without any intelligent perception of the mode of its operation on the substances submitted to its action, and dispenses therefore with mental effort beyond mere attention. Some dexterity of manipulation, quickness of movement and of eye may be required, but that is all; whether the machine chops turnips for sheep, or prepares wool or cotton for the spindle or the reel. Were this notion as psychologically just as we believe it to be the contrary, it is necessary to inquire in what respects the former system differed from it. Machinery, as the system of the productive arts, is but one hundred years old, and enough is known of the previous economy or organization of labour to determine the matter at issue. Prior to 1750, the woollen and flax trades were the staples of the nation. Now it would be a curious question in psychology to determine how much more of mental power was needed to twirl the one-thread wheel, or to drive the hand-loom under the former system, than to superintend a roving-frame or a power-loom under the present; and still more curious to determine the precise difference in the degree of mental activity and exertion produced by the respective systems, and all their adjuncts of place, circumstances, and associations. We suspect philosophy would give a very different answer to that which sentimental philanthropy in the pages of some of our most popular and attractive writers has made so current. But to press the question, as one not of sentiment, but of fact, a little closer, it may be asked, admitting that the spinner and weaver under the olden system were more intelligent than the modern factory operative,—simply as workers, and apart from the matter of general mental activity, is there a moment's comparison betwixt the degree of skill in the preparation of the mere instruments of labour now in use and those used under the old system? It is but to place on one hand the one-thread wheel, the common loom, and the hand-card, and on the other, the steam-engine, with its long train of beautiful and wondrous machines, to determine the several degrees of mechanical skill necessary to

produce each. The discovery of the steam-engine and of the many machines which it propels, has created an entirely new class of artisans, far more skilled and intelligent than those who made the rude implement used in the previous organization of industry; whilst the application of steam to other purposes besides those of the textile manufactures, has demanded in every branch of industry a higher intelligence in every class of workmen and artisans. There is no reason to believe that Bottom the weaver, Snug the joiner, Flute the bellows-mender, or Starveling the tailor, in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream,' were caricatures of those classes; but the contrary, for Philostratus tells Theseus, in reply to his question, 'What are they?'—

'Hard-handed men that work in Athens here,
Which never laboured in their heads, till now.'

If some modern Shakespeare were to introduce representatives of the same classes into the drama, would he say of them, 'They never laboured in their minds till now'? Mr. Dickens gives another and a very different picture. Theseus might not say of *their speech* as he does of Prologue's in the play—'It is like a tangled chain, nothing impaired, but all disordered.'

To return from this digression, the table gives the total number of persons employed in the textile manufacture at 1,188,098. The census of population shows that in the interval from 1750 to 1850, the periods of transition from the mere manual economy of manufacture to the economy of steam power and machinery, the numbers of the people had increased three-fold, say from seven to twenty-one millions; but so vast an augmentation of productive power has ensued under the new economy, that the consumption of cotton wool has risen from 3,000,000 of pounds annually to 800,000,000, and of sheep's wool from 72,000,000 pounds to 300,000,000 pounds. An increase in flax, hemp, and silk, approximating to that in cotton-wool, has also taken place in the same interval. It is a well authenticated fact, that prior to the introduction of machine carding, spinning, and weaving, the labour of fifty-eight persons was required to make a pack of wool into cloth in a week. At that rate it would require 1,200,000 persons to make up the 300,000,000 pounds of the sheep's wool consumed in 1851; but *less than that number*—viz., 1,188,098, as shown in the table, not only work up that weight of wool, but some 900,000,000 pounds of cotton, and some 350,000,000 pounds of flax, hemp, and silk besides—the texture, perfection, and beauty of the fabrics as much exceeding those of 1750 as the self-acting mule and the steam-loom do the cottage one-thread wheel, or the hand-loom. But not only in its productiveness, but in the mechanical and chemical skill which it has called forth, is the textile branch of

British manufacture the foremost type of the national skill ; for apart from the ingenuity of the classes employed immediately in the fabrications of cotton and wool, and flax and silk, there are large classes indirectly, but as necessarily connected with it—viz., the artisans who construct the moving power and the machinery which it impels, and also in the manufacture of the raw materials of iron, copper, tin, and brass. In these departments of the national industry the table shows there are employed 252,358 persons, of whom 188,728 are adult males. It is a striking fact, illustrative of the effect of the discoveries of Watt and Arkwright, that in the production of iron alone, there has been an increase from 17,000 tons in 1742, to 3,000,000 in 1853, a vast proportion of which supplies the textile manufactures with its auxiliaries to mere manual strength, the remainder furnishing the means of railway and steam-vessel transit, or is applied in the construction of mills, workshops, and houses, to an extent, which, but for the power of steam, alike in the processes of mining and in the manufacture of iron, would have been impossible.

It is another remarkable fact shown by the table that 592,624 persons are employed in the building trades, under which category are included bricklayers, carpenters, masons, and other cognate employments. Still more remarkable is the fact that no less than 978,048 persons are employed in giving to the fabrics of our looms and tan-yards the forms in which they are of use as articles of personal apparel. These employments have not as yet been much altered in character by the application of science. It may reasonably be doubted whether there be any mechanical substitute for the human hand and the needle in the trades of the tailor, the shoemaker, or the milliner and dress-maker ; but it is undoubted that the craft of the carpenter, the bricklayer, and the mason, admits of very large improvement of a mechanical kind. The commissioners appointed to report on the New York Exhibition of American manufactures state that machinery is largely employed in the United States, in the planing of wood, in box making, in the making of lasts and boot-trees, of ploughs and furniture, and in stone-planing. So effective are these machines, that with them eight men will make thirty ploughs per day, and twenty men one hundred doors per day. The power of combination in these trades has prevented, hitherto, a large application of steam power to these branches of handicraft, just as at first it did in the sawing of timber and veneer, and the making of blocks for ships. These trades cannot long remain in their present state. There is an enormous waste of human strength in the manner in which they are now conducted, which might and would find other modes of employment ; the ultimate result being a vast augmentation of the products of the whole

industry of the nation, and not, as is commonly supposed, the substitution of the IRON MAN for the human man, to the exclusion of the latter from employment altogether. That fallacy cannot long outlive the teaching of the last one hundred years, as respects the employment of labour in the textile arts,—the lessons of free trade,—and the example of America.

There are many other interesting features in the table inviting comment, but the foregoing must suffice. One or two observations on it, *as a whole*, may not, however, be omitted. The twenty-three classes admit of division into numerous sub-classes, and these again into individual and distinct employments. After much compression the census commissioners have reduced the number of these latter to some eleven or twelve hundred, but in that number are very many generic designations, the species under each being numerous and diversified. These minute subdivisions of labour, these many and diversified employments, are the result and the measure of the perfection of the productive arts, and are unmistakeable evidence of a high civilization. To produce any one article of use as food or clothing, a great variety of separate classes of workers and agencies must be set in motion, many of them not only distinct in organization from all the rest, but isolated and unconnected, save, as through the factor and the merchant, they are brought together. Thus an enormous capital is invested in Lancashire, Cheshire, Renfrewshire, and Lancashire, in cotton mills and machinery, and more than two millions of persons are brought up to the business of the cotton manufacturer, and depend on it for their daily bread and their very existence, though both capitalist and labourer are dependent for the raw material on the industry of many other nations thousands of miles away, and on the enterprise of two distinct classes, the merchant and the shipowner, to supply them fully and regularly with that raw material. The extent to which each is dependent on all the rest, in a particular country, for the commonest necessities and comforts of life, and one commercial nation on all others, is one of the most interesting of the complicated phenomena of high industrial status, and, excepting the United States, probably no other nation will bear comparison with England in the minute subdivision of labour, the extent of mutual dependence internally betwixt its several sections of producers, and externally, betwixt it and the world's races; nor on the grand results of their condition—the variety of products which it either produces or purchases, and the amplitude of the share which it commands for every unit of the population.

Before closing this notice of the census, it will be quite pertinent to the subject to inquire, whether the facts revealed by it throw any light on two important social questions—namely, the

progress or otherwise of the operative population in material and moral well-being ; and, second, the gain or loss to the same class by the large introduction of machinery within the last eighty or hundred years.

It would be illusory, or more correctly speaking empirical, to take any and all the facts established by the census as data from which to answer, definitely, either of these queries ; but it will be quite philosophic to take those facts and place them in combination with other and equally well established facts, and thereby to establish a sufficiently wide basis for a safe induction. The census shows that betwixt 1801 and 1851 the population of Great Britain increased, in round numbers, 100 per cent. On very good data it is calculated that the increase in the previous 50 years, 1750 to 1801, was about 57 per cent., and in the 50 years, 1700 to 1750, 17 per cent. The census further shows, that the great staple trades of the nation are conducted in connection with steam or water power, and all the mechanical appliances of which the last eighty or hundred years has been so productive. Apart from the census, it is known that steam and water power are applied in every branch of manufacture where great force is requisite, and even in the making of machines and all the appliances of machinery. Steam-power impels and guides the tools which heretofore were exclusively moved by the human arm. The steam-engine and machinery have, in fact, invaded every department of the national industry ; and though, as already noticed, there are departments in which its introduction is only partial, it is quite palpable that to these also it will ere long be applied. Now, there is not a doubt that the productiveness of labour, juvenile and adult, has been mightily augmented by the application of steam-power and of machinery ; nay further, that application has rendered available a large amount of juvenile and female adult labour, which heretofore was non-productive, or of little value. The degree of that increased productiveness, if measured by the productiveness of unaided human labour, *in precisely the same processes*, is something fabulous, but as production became more facile, skill and science were applied to render the products of our looms and forges more elaborate and tasteful, and thus the quantum produced has been less than the enhanced power of the labour of the nation was equal to, all products retaining their previous form and character, but it is incomparably more beautiful, and presents forms of utility and of luxury previously unknown, and indeed, unattainable. Allowing for this new condition of production, it may safely be affirmed that in manufactures, properly so called, the augmentation has been, at a moderate estimate, *seven-fold* ; but let it be taken at a *five-fold* increase. How has

that additional production been distributed? Has the capitalist absorbed it all, leaving wages as they stood before, or has the labourer participated in it? On the supposition that the capitalist has absorbed the whole difference, the profit of capital ought to have vastly increased; strictly speaking, it should be equivalent to something more than four-fifths of the value of any manufactured article, or rather of that portion of value which is conferred on any particular raw material by the operation of manufacturing, properly so called. For example, if the cost of *manufacturing* a pound of wool into woollen cloth be 5s., does the capitalist get 4s. as interest on the steam power and machines which he owns, and which are used in the processes through which the pound of wool has passed? Let it be especially noted, that so much of whatever the capitalist receives as simply replaces the steam-engine and machines—in other words, covers ‘wear and tear’—is only the wages of labour in another form. The question is as to the nett share which comes to the capitalist, specifically as interest on capital invested in the new instruments of manufacture. If that interest absorbs the whole additional produce, the only person benefited by the introduction of machinery is the owner of the machine—no other party, call him consumer or labourer, for these terms are, in this case, convertible, is at all benefited.

It is almost unnecessary to say, that *as a rule*, the capitalist, in the case supposed, does not get *one part* out of the five-fold increase consequent on the application of machinery; and if so, the gain to the consumer is a diminution of three-fourths of the cost of a given commodity, or what is an equivalent expression of the issue, he gets four-times the quantity for the same price. It is impossible to deny this conclusion, unless it can be shown that the owner of the new productive power—steam and machinery—gets, as his share, all the difference in the quantity produced by that power, in conjunction with human labour and superintendence. It may be answered that although the consumer may be benefited, the labourer is not, for one result of the application may be to render fewer labourers necessary. The answer to this is, that the demand for labour is measured by the area of the field for its employment and the relative proportion of capital to labour, and not by the perfection of the implements of labour,—the latter measuring the reward of labour, and not determining the demand for it. But waiving the politico-economical argument, what says the census? Why, that simultaneously with the application of machinery and steam-power, the population of Great Britain rose from 17 per cent. in the first fifty years of the eighteenth century, to 59 in the second fifty years, and to 100 per cent. in the following cycle from 1801 to 1851—that

whereas the increase of the population in the agricultural counties in the last cycle was only 48 per cent., it was 178 per cent. in the manufacturing counties, and on the average of the town population of those counties 278 per cent. In other words, the census shows that just where steam power and machinery have been most largely applied, *there* population has aggregated in the largest masses, and has manifested the highest ratio of increase, a result utterly irreconcilable with the theory that the use of machinery *supersedes*, not *supplements and aids*—human labour.

It would unduly expand this article to notice all the collateral facts in the history of the last hundred years, which concur with the fact of an accelerated rate of growth in the population, utterly to disprove the long current theory on the effect of machinery. It must suffice to say, that the wonderful increase in the quantity of the raw materials of manufacture imported, demonstrates the fact of *augmented production—relatively to population*, and that the relative price of labour and of commodities of all kinds, is equally demonstrative of the participation of the labourer, *as a consumer*, in the benefit of that augmented production. Those who still maintain the opinion that machinery supersedes human labour, though cognizant of the fact of an accelerated growth of the population simultaneously with a constantly increasing application of steam-power and machinery, are not to be reasoned with—theirs is a chronic obtuseness of the ratiocinative faculties altogether incurable.

But what of the intellectual and moral condition of the people as indicated by the census? That a mere abstract of employments should be an index of intelligence and morality, may, at first sight, appear very questionable, but in reality the indication is by no means trifling or of doubtful significance. The form which the productive arts have taken in the country demands a much higher intelligence in the workman than sufficed in their primitive condition one hundred years ago. A quicker perception, a more extended and varied knowledge, is demanded of the operator who works with the existing implements of manufacture than was requisite to conduct the simple manipulations of production, before Watt and Arkwright changed the whole character of industrial art. Besides, as has been previously observed, new arts have been created by the introduction of the steam-engine and of machinery, which require in the workman a knowledge of the properties of matter, of mechanical or of chemical science, and, in many departments of art, a degree of taste for which no call existed prior to such introduction. Nor are the workmen of this class few in number. The aggregate of skilled workmen in our factories, forges,

foundries, machine and engine-shops, dyehouses, chemical manufactories, in the porcelain, glass, and pottery manufactories, in the cutlery, japan-ware, and a thousand other branches of production, is probably a much larger number than was employed in the boasted woollen trade, our great and almost *sole* manufacture for several hundred years. In the department of transit, too, what comparison can be instituted betwixt the staff of the *road* and the staff of the *rail*, or the crew of a steamer and that of the ancient sailing vessel? The comparison of the *present* with the *past* of industrial art in England might be pressed further, and without lessening the force of the contrast which it would develop, but it is surely needless. The fact of the immense difference in the condition of the arts, supposes a corresponding difference in the skill and intelligence of the artisans.

But is there any connexion betwixt this higher intelligence and a higher morality? The question is fair, and will be fairly met. Not necessarily, as implying a connexion of cause and effect betwixt the one and the other, but unavoidably, certainly, as a correlative result from a common cause. The same conditions which have raised the intelligence of the operative, have materially improved his material and social position, and fact, not to say philosophy, affirms a close connexion betwixt material and moral well-being. Notwithstanding the assertion of Lord John Russell some few sessions back, that mechanical improvement had indeed wonderfully added to the productive power and wealth of the nation, but had, as yet, done little towards improving the condition of the operative class—it is deliberately affirmed that in dress, in the important matter of household accommodation, in the nature and quantum of his daily food—the operative of 1851 is immensely in advance of the operative of 1801, and still more of his type in 1750. The opportunities and facilities, too, of stepping up in life are greatly multiplied. The pedigree of a large portion of our first-class manufacturers and merchants need not go back *more* than two generations to trace descent from the humblest walk of operative life, and betwixt the millocrat and the millionaire, there never was a period in which the number of individuals, ranking in the successive grades of capitalists, down to the artisan who owns his box of tools, or dwells in his own freehold cottage, was so large. An old pamphleteer, descanting on this view of the connexion betwixt competency, and comfort, and morality, represents the debauched labourer answering a sage churchwarden, who finds him at the ale bench, and reproves him for his intemperance and neglect of family. ‘What have I to live for? You give me 7s. a week, and the workhouse when I am old. Here, landlord, another pot.’—All other things being alike, the prospect and hopes of bettering one’s condition

and attaining a higher place in the social scale, will decide, in but too many instances, whether the workman seeks to drown care, and dissipate the tedium of existence at the ale bench, or rigorously prosecutes his craft, centres his affection in wife and child, and finds in the domestic circle and around the domestic hearth relaxation and relief after the day's fatigues.

ART. II.—*Poems*. By Mathew Arnold. Foolscap 8vo. Second Edition. London: Longman & Co. 1854.

2. *Poems*. By Mathew Arnold. Foolscap. 8vo. Second Series. London: Longman & Co. 1855.

It is a profound remark that the eyes can see only just so much as they bring with them the power of seeing, and many minds have not the power to see that there exists a poetry in the living, bustling, perplexed life of the present. There are those whose eyes are darkened by ignorance, or blinded with the bitter tears of misery, for whom poetry lights up the face of nature with magical beauty in vain; who read not her manifold and wondrous revelations, who hear not her eternal melodies warbling far above the din and confusion of this steam-car of a world. Then, there are the lovers of the good old times, who steadily fix their eyes on the beloved past, and who, if compelled to move on with the rushing tide of events, persistently advance backwards, and still refuse to see the flowers of beauty blossoming about their feet, or the golden sunrise that is streaking the sky of the future.

Lastly, we mention the scholastic mind that reads human life in books, and has so long pored over the records of the past that the eyes have become dim, so that it has to look through spectacles on the life of to-day, in which it sees little or no poetry. Yet we hold that although these may never catch a glimpse of it, or see it only through a glass darkly, this living, breathing, working, warring world of ours—this mystery of human life that fills the nineteenth century, is as full of poetry and all poetic elements as any life—any century of any past. Is not the world full of poetry, revelations of beauty, written by the fingers of the Everlasting, on the hills and the woods, the ripe waving corn, the flowers that start up at the voice of spring, the starry skies of winter, the auroral hues of summer dawns, the magnificent ocean, the secrets contained in the bosom of the earth, in the clouds that voyage about the summer-skies like

barks of beauty, in the song of the bird, and in the happy temperament of the bee that will suck honey from the thistle, and sweets from the furze on the desolate moor, in the southern wind, sighing out its soul among the pines, in the summer night's voluptuous aromas; in the voice, smile, step of woman; her silent heroism, her unconscious self-sacrifice; in the child's lisped endearments, and in a thousand other things? Yes, in all the wise and wondrous arrangements of creation there is poetry as lofty now as when the Psalmist cried out in the fulness of his heart, 'O sing unto the Lord a new song, for he hath done marvellous things.' He that hath eyes to see, let him see.

Until the poet Wordsworth came, who would have believed that so much beauty existed in the despised common things of the earth? But he, watching with a patient eye of love, found a secret meaning and a soul of loveliness where other passers-by had seen nought but blank nothingness. Just as the many pass by some human face and think it plain—perhaps ugly—until the true lover comes, and finds an unfathomable beauty there. In like manner did Burns reveal the beauty and the poetry that lurk amongst the people in the byways of humanity. It is a part of the poet's work to pluck the veil from hidden loveliness, to find language for the unuttered thoughts; and the world is at the present time full of such ambrosia for the poet's soul, and material for poetry. He who can see no poetry in the present would never have seen any in the past, if he had lived in it when it was the present. In no one of the elements translatable into poetry do we find the bygone time to have been superior. Take, for example, that physical bravery and prowess in arms celebrated with such pomp and pæan in the olden epic strains, and we can find a match for it. Think for a moment of that magnificent death-parade of our light cavalry brigade on the heights of Balaklava, with the fame of which the world still rings—where some seven hundred men, at the word of command, rode, with bloody spur and unblenching heart, straight through the gaping gates of death with a proud light on their faces, as though they had caught the smile of the angel Duty that hovered over them there? To parallel that feat of heroism we must go back to those three hundred Spartans who in that summer dawn sat 'combing their long hair for death' in the passes of Thermopylæ, and who went there to die at the command of their country. And surely a more noble daring, a more conquering valour, never flashed out in the old days of Greece and Rome than was manifested at Alma and Inkermann. Nor can the history of the whole world show an instance of sublimer fortitude, or more glorious courage, than was shown by that regiment of British soldiers lost with the ship 'Birkenhead.' When it was known that the vessel was

doomed, and fast sinking, the troops were mustered on deck by command of their officers. There they stood to arms, each man by his bayonet, facing the coming death as calmly as if they were on parade. They saw the women and children put into the boats. There were no boats for them. Nevertheless, not one of them moved to snatch a selfish chance at life. Down, down, and down went the ship, but that band of heroes stood firm and calm. Each heart knew its own bitterness, and was busy with its own peculiar sorrow, with the last thoughts of home and friends far away, or with a silent prayer to God above; but not a cry was uttered, with death only an arm's-length from them. As the ship gave her last lurch, they fired a salute, and went down, each still in his rank as the waves closed over them. The past cannot show us a greater tragic triumph. No; the poet need not turn to the past to show us the heroism, the chivalry, the martyrdom, the suffering, and the victories that make up the glory of humanity. They may be all discovered in the manifold life of to-day, or in that marvellous human heart which is beating beneath it.

Mr. Arnold evidently turns to the past for inspiration; so we gather from his poems, and from the prose preface attached to the first series. For him the present is not sufficiently hallowed for poetical purposes. He has that peculiar sight mentally which some have physically—farsight—or inability to see things in their proper proportions, unless they are presented at a distance. We agree with much that Mr. Arnold's preface asserts, we differ with the rest. We consider it to be a bad sign when a poet troubles himself at all about theories. Poetical theories may do for talent to work in, but genius only begins where they end. Theories belong to the mechanics of art. Genius has no theories to account for its impulses, and great poets never yet wrought by rule. The why and the wherefore of their highest operations remain a profound secret to themselves. They do not so much choose as they are chosen. They gravitate to that which belongs to them, and take their own unwittingly. It would puzzle the lover to account for his selection of such and such a woman to become his wife. After all his attempts to do so, it would remain a matter of inexplicable instinct. And the workings of genius are hidden as those of love. Herein lies an everlasting source of beauty, and hence genius is an endless series of delightful surprises. It steps over the threshold of all theories into the infinite, and we cannot know beforehand with what treasure it will return. Mr. Ruskin, in his recent lectures on decoration, colour, &c., gave some fine illustrations of this unconsciousness of genius in choosing the right thing and the right way. He exhibited a painting of some purple and yellow plums by Mr. Hunt. He was sitting by

the artist when he painted them. He asked him why he used a certain colour, and Mr. Hunt replied, he could not say, but he felt it would conduce to the required effect. He also said that a friend of Mr. Tennyson's, one of the greatest living masters of versification, took the trouble to collect illustrations of the elaborate laws by which the poet wrote, and to show them to him; but, to his astonishment, Mr. Tennyson was ignorant of them all. He had done it by instinct. The mind of Mr. Arnold seems to be more essentially critical than creative. Now, the province of the poet is the creative—not the critical. It is his province to produce the rare result, and not to hold a light to reveal the working of his machinery, or state publicly wherefore he produced it. The poet includes the critic, as the greater includes the less, but his criticism works silently, and his poetry will be the best exponent of his critical creed, if he have any. Our author's poetry does not furnish satisfactory illustrations of the truth of his prose propositions. He is strongest and most poetical when he overleaps his theories.

Great actions, he says, are the eternal objects of poetry, which he defines as an act that imitates actions. Here it will be at once seen how limited are his notions of poetry and its objects. The eternal objects of poetry are by no means restricted to actions, or what becomes of the lyrical? The sweetest songs ever sung do not necessarily relate an action, they chronicle a thought, or a sentiment. And again, how shall we deal with this wondrous living age of ours, so transitional, so full of hopes and fears; its fettered energies, its phases of faith, its mental revolutions, if we are to have actions alone represented? For our own part we believe there is a world of unuttered thought yet to be uttered subjectively, and that it affords as great and glorious a field for the poet as all the great actions of the past, although we may not see it till the great genius comes making its own laws, and surprising the whole world with its magical results.

Mr. Arnold's definition of the treatment necessary for the subject of a poem, appears to us to be only what we should demand of the historian. We ask a great deal more than he does of the poet, whether epic or dramatic. It is quite true that

'We have poems which seem to exist merely for the sake of single lines and passages; not for the sake of producing any total impression. We have critics who seem to direct their attention merely to detached expressions. I verily think that the majority of them do not in their hearts believe there is such a thing as a total impression to be derived from a poem at all, or to be demanded from a poet. They will permit the poet to select any action he pleases, and to suffer that action to go as it will, provided he gratifies them with occasional bursts of fine writing, and with a shower of isolated thoughts and images.'—Preface, p. xxi.

Who can deny this that has read the poetry and criticism written during the last three years! Look at the working up of the poetical scrap-books that we have had. The paste that has been made with the plums stuck in afterwards. The tinselling and tinkering, and artificial-flower making. The wealth of imagery hiding the poverty of thought. We have had a perfect *renaissance* in poetry; such has been the straining after point, finery, and effect. Few of our young singers have the earnest directness and simple heart-homeness which mark the grand old singers of the past. They seldom utter a plain honest truth without a wildering prelude of *fioriture*. They are like the singers of the opera, who cannot give you a simple song but they must trill and *roulade*, and get up a grand pyrotechnic display of brilliance, hurrying you through their 'foreign parts' to get at what should have been a simple melody of the English heart and home. We think a great deal of this is traceable to the influence of 'Festus,' a poem which is full of fine material set in the most vicious of styles, a style which will never bear imitating or repeating. We welcome any protest against this kind of writing, and are grateful to Mr. Arnold for his, which is richly merited.

A few words on the question of poetical expression, and we must pass on to the poetry. Mr. Arnold opines that Shakespeare, with his unrivalled wealth of expression, is not a safe model for a young writer; and that while in his works the thought almost always strikes so deeply, and grasps so widely in its rootage, as to bear the abundant foliage waving with all its rich warmth of colour above, yet this faculty, which in him is only an accessory, will, in a smaller mind, become the absorbing and vanquishing motive. Expression is apt to become the one and sole object of pursuit, so that the young mind may lose sight of what it has to say, in the intensity of desire for saying it finely, and degenerate into a carelessness as to whether it has anything to say or not. Indeed, this word-painting is a witching lure to the inexperienced and undisciplined imagination, for there is such a beauty in some words that they seem to possess as great an attraction, or even greater, than the thought they symbolize, even as the graceful form and winning lineaments of the beloved may eclipse the charms of her mind. Both Keats and Tennyson fell into this error in their first poems, until they learned to prune the young luxuriance of their style; and one or two of our rising poets, in their fondness for colour, bedaub themselves like very savages. But for all this, we would not have poetical expression become bald and meagre. We would not have paltriness and triviality mistaken for simplicity. After Shakespeare, we can never return to the severity of the Greek tragedians. We are more pictorial, and have a stronger sense of colour than they had. They are

statuesque in style as well as in their sculpture. Their sculpture fitly illustrates their literary character. They sought after beauty of form, even to the neglect of expression of face. We do not advocate expression of face to the neglect of beauty in the form, but would have them combined. Doubtless, the noble simplicity of Sophocles is ever admirable ; but we cannot forego one dainty delicious epithet in the 'Eve of St. Agnes' on that account. Nor would we advocate a return to Pope and Dryden as models of poetical expression. Their expression is effective because of its fitness, and fitness is the first requisite, although it is not the last grace. With them expression seldom breaks into beauty ; they are the great masters of the terse and commonsensical. With Shakespeare, Milton, Spenser, Keats, and Tennyson, fitness is allied to beauty.

The mind of Mr. Arnold is akin to the Greek in its predominance of form, its want of colour, its calm and severity, its love of action and its statuesqueness ; and these qualities naturally determine his peculiar views. It is no fault of ours that we have thus far carried on a controversy rather than a criticism. Mr. Arnold's preface challenges it at the outset. We have got over it as briefly as possible, anxious to shake hands and be all the better friends. He is a poet in spite of his critical intellect and his self-assertiveness ; nor does he need us to tell him so. He does not belong to the band of the great masters in the realms of song. It does not appear to be a vital necessity with him to pour the flood of fiery feeling, or the rushing tide of thick-coming thought into song, as a relief for an overflowing nature. Yet one cannot read these two volumes through without coming to the conclusion that he is a poet, and that Parnassus has room for such a denizen. We cannot define genius, notwithstanding all our attempts ; but it always defines itself, and makes its presence felt. So of poetry ; we always know it when we meet with it, although we may fail to define the wherefore. Speaking of poetic genius, old John Dennis, the critic, says it is caused by a 'furious joy and pride of soul on the conception of an extraordinary hint.' Many men have their hints without their motions of fury and pride of soul, because they want fire enough to agitate their spirits ; and these we call cold writers. Others, who have a great deal of fire, but have not excellent organs, feel the fore-mentioned motions, without the extraordinary hints. We take Mathew Arnold to represent the former. Our author is too cold and colourless. He does not thrust his hand into ours pulsing divine inspirations, and warm with human feeling. He is not sensuous enough to be widely popular. He appeals to the intellect, to the neglect of passion and feeling, from which poetry still draws much of its richest life. His

muse is very pure and noble. She commands our admiration and respect, but we do not passionately love her. Reading his poems is something like walking among the portraits in sculpture at the Crystal Palace, in that Hades of the departed where the spirits of the past are ranged with their white faces and serene brows, sitting in eternal calm. There seems to be some strange remoteness in Mr. Arnold's mind, resulting, we think, from his greater book-education than life-experience. A more perfect acquaintance with human life and its many-sided mystery—a larger fulfilment of his own being—will doubtless bring him nearer to us.

Yet, although his subjects may be remote, he never writes without a strong, clear purpose. He does not sit down to 'make' poetry, by stringing together pretty images, and saying fine things. What he sees, that he sees clearly, and without a mist of metaphor. His blank verse has a stately grandeur in the rhythm. And there are great elements of poetry in 'Sohrab and Rustum' and 'Balder Dead,' which are somewhat after the Homeric manner touched by Tennyson. The former is by far the most successful of the two, but we shall not be able to quote from either. Our quotations shall be from two poems, both of which offer potent refutation of Mr. Arnold's favourite theories—the 'Forsaken Merman' and 'Tristram and Iseult.' The first is a tale of one of the sea-kings who had wedded an earthly maiden. The old king of the sea tells the tale of their mother's desertion to the children. It is Easter time in the world, and she left them for the little church on the hill-side, promising to return, but she comes not back. The wild music and the touches of pathos have seldom if ever been surpassed—

She smiled, she went up through the surf in the bay.
 'Children, dear, was it yesterday?
 Children, dear, were we long alone?'
 'The sea grows stormy, the little ones moan.'
 'Long prayers,' I said, 'in the world they say.
 Come,' I said, and we rose through the surf in the bay.
 We went up the beach, by the sandy down,
 Where the sea-stocks bloom to the white-walled town,
 Through the narrow paved streets where all was still,
 To the little grey church on the windy hill.
 From the church came a murmur of folk at their prayers;
 But we stood without in the cold blowing airs.
 We climbed on the graves, on the stones worn with rains,
 And we gazed up the aisle, through the small leaded panes.
 She sate by the pillar, we saw her clear.
 'Margaret! hist! come, quick, we are here!'
 'Dear heart,' I said, 'we are long alone.'
 'The sea grows stormy, the little ones moan.'

'But, ah! she gave me never a look,
 For her eyes were sealed to the holy book.
 Loud prays the priest, shut stands the door.
 Come away, children, call no more.
 Come away, come down, call no more.'

Down, down, down,
 Down to the depths of the sea.

She sits at her wheel in the humming town,
 Singing most joyfully.

Hark what she sings: 'Oh, joy! oh, joy!
 For the humming street, and the child with its toy;
 For the priest, and the bell, and the holy well;
 For the wheel where I spun,
 And the blessed light of the sun.'

And so she sings her fill,
 Singing most joyfully,
 Till the shuttle falls from her hand,
 And the whizzing wheel stands still.
 She steals to the window, and looks at the sand,
 And over the sand at the sea,
 And her eyes are set in a stare,
 And anon there breaks a sigh,
 And anon there drops a tear,
 From a sorrow-clouded eye,
 And a heart sorrow-laden,
 A long, long sigh,
 For the cold strange eyes of a little Mermaiden,
 And the gleam of her golden hair.—

First Series, p. 172.

Now, it is not the magnitude of the action selected that gives such interest to the poem, but the genuine human feeling that the author has put into it, and this brings the poor wailing Merman nigher to us, and wins a stronger sympathy than any 'Dead Balder.' And here are two passages from 'Tristram and Iseult,' containing some of the richest writing that Mr. Arnold has permitted himself to pen, and it is because of their warmer colouring that they take the reader, and have been quoted oftener than any other passages. The first is a description of the chamber of the dead lovers by night, the second is an exquisite picture of children sleeping—

The air of the December night
 Steals coldly around the chamber bright,
 Where those lifeless lovers be.
 Swinging with it, in the light
 Flaps the ghost-like tapestry.
 And on the arras wrought you see
 A stately Huntsman clad in green,
 And round him a fresh forest scene.
 On that clear forest knoll he stays
 With his pack round him, and delays.

He stares and stares, with troubled face,
 At this huge gleam-lit fireplace,
 At the bright iron-figur'd door,
 And those blown rushes on the floor,
 He gazes down into the room
 With heated cheeks and flurried air,
 And to himself he seems to say—
 'What place is this, and who are they?
 Who is that kneeling Lady fair?

*And on his pillows that pale Knight
Who seems of marble on a tomb?
How comes it here, this chamber bright,
Through whose mullion'd windows clear
The castle court all wet with rain,
The drawbridge and the moat appear,
And then the beach, and, mark'd with spray,
The sunken reefs, and far away
The unquiet bright Atlantic plain?*

*What, has some glamour made me sleep,
And sent me with my dogs to sweep,
By night, with boisterous bugle peal,
Through some old, sea-side, knightly hall,
Not in the free greenwood at all?*

*That Knight's asleep, and at her prayer
That Lady by the bed doth kneel;
Then hush, thou boisterous bugle peal!*

*The wild boar rustles in his lair—
The fierce hounds snuff the tainted air—
But lord and hounds keep rooted there.
Cheer, cheer thy dogs into the brake,
Oh, Hunter! and without a fear
Thy golden-tassell'd bugle blow,
And through the glades thy pastime take!*

*For thou wilt rouse no sleepers here.
For these thou seest are unmov'd;
Cold, cold as those who liv'd and lov'd
A thousand years ago.—Ib. pp. 130, 131.*

CHILDREN SLEEPING.

*But they sleep in sheltered rest,
Like helpless birds in the warm nest
On the castle's southern side,
Where feebly comes the mournful roar
Of buffeting wind and surging tide,
Through many a room and corridor.
Full on the window the moon's ray
Makes their chamber as bright as day.
It shines upon the blank white walls,
And on the snowy pillow falls,
And on two angel heads doth play,
Turn'd to each other: the eyes closed,
The lashes on the cheek reposed.
Round each sweet brow the cap close set
Hardly lets peep the golden hair;
Through the soft opened lips the air
Scarcely moves the coverlet.
One little wandering arm is thrown
At random on the counterpane,
And often the fingers close in haste,
As if their baby owner chased
The butterflies again.
This stir they have, and this alone,*

*But else they are so still—
Ah! you tired madcaps, you lie still;
But were you at the window now,
To look forth on the fairy sight
Of your illumined haunts by night,
To see the park glades where you play
Far lovelier than they are by day,
To see the sparkle on the eaves,
And upon every giant bough
Of those old oaks whose wan red leaves
Are jewelled with bright drops of rain—
How would your voices run again!
And far beyond the sparkling trees,
Of the castle park, one sees
The bare heath spreading clear as day,
Moor behind moor, far, far away,
Into the heart of Brittany.
And here and there locked by the land
Long inlets of smooth glittering sea,
And many a stretch of watery sand,
All shining in the white moonbeams;
But you see fairer in your dreams.—
Ib. pp. 118, 119.*

ART. III.—*Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.* Selection of Despatches written by the Venetian Ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian, and addressed to the Signory of Venice. Translated by Rawdon Brown. In Two Volumes. 8vo. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1854. pp. 327 and 340.

MANY valuable official documents and family papers have been brought to light of late years, which have yielded much information of the manners of our ancestors. Some of these documents form considerable additions to the historical literature of the country; others give us an insight into the homes and the domestic habits of people whom we have far outstripped, not only in refinement, but also in those many things which we class under the general name of comforts. We have a tolerably correct

idea probably of the manners and customs of the English people from the reign of Charles I. We know what was the 'formal cut' of the habiliments of the earnest men who, with the ardour of true patriots, in the Lower House of Parliament, resisted that despotic monarch's attempted encroachments upon the constitution; and we can tell, in some cases, even the prices paid for those garments. We know the hours of rising, dining, walking, sleeping,—the religious observances, the time and method of worship, the structure and cost of the houses of our forefathers in that age, the fashion of their furniture, their amusements and festivities, their social assemblies, and the etiquette which obtained amongst them, the modes of their travelling, their times for marketing, and the expense of many things in their domestic economy. In fact, our knowledge of these and other matters is so ample, that we can easily furnish ourselves with a picture of the public and private life and morals of the England of the seventeenth century. If we refer to an earlier period, however, there is very much still to be learned of the life of the English people, and our information of it becomes more and more scanty the farther back we direct our inquiries. The majority of the earlier historians have erred in almost entirely passing over, or, at least, in taking but the slightest notice of the popular habits and practices, except in so far as these may at any time have given offence to the ruling power, or to the haughty noblesse which sustained it. Thus, in their records, we find hardly any mention made of the people, of their wrongs, their sorrows, and their advancement towards a more perfect civilization; but those works narrate chiefly the intrigues and gallantries of the court, the movements of armies to gratify 'the pride of kings,' their victories and defeats, and the rapid rise and doleful fall of those men who were the unfortunate favourites of an hour. How much have we yet to learn of what England really was in its many homes, among its toiling, oppressed, and benighted population, during the reigns of Elizabeth, and her superstitious sister, and indeed of the whole Tudor family! We have some information of royal progresses during the long and not inglorious reign when Shakespeare struck his wizard-harp, and when Burleigh, Spenser, Drake, and Raleigh adorned the court of the English queen. We know, to some extent, what was that monarch's manner of life, apart from the jealousies, heart-burnings, and multitudinous intrigues which obtained during a great portion of her rule;—that she rose early, lived coarsely, refreshed herself with strong ales, and delighted in the vanities peculiar to many of her sex. In the obscurity of remote years, we have some perception of the manner in which Mary lived, and how her youthful brother and predecessor enriched his mind with the

treasures of the unforgotten past, the philosophy, the oratory, and the poetry, which will survive when the Cæsars and their pomp and luxury have all faded from the memory of man.

But a painful blank remains—we know something of the monarch, but little of the people, and scarcely anything of the cottage. How inestimably valuable would be any public or private papers, could such be discovered, which should give us exact information of the condition of the farmers and traders in the remote provinces during the Tudor dynasty; of the mode in which they lived; the quality and cost of their food and of their clothing; how they bought and sold, and especially of the influence which the parochial priests exercised upon them for good or for evil; also, of the condition of the farm-labourers and artisans, the terms under which they toiled, their domestic and sanitary state. Thus might we well perceive how slow is the growth of a nation, how tardy its progress towards a partial refinement, and how that progress is accelerated by the establishment of a government in which the people have a voice, and by the extension of free institutions.

On directing attention to the volumes, the title of which is prefixed to this article, we had hoped to have found, at last, the long-desired information, and that the Venetian ambassador's letters would have cast a ray of light upon the life and manners, not only of the court, but also of the English people. In this particular we have been painfully disappointed—although the historical worth of these volumes can hardly be too highly estimated;—for Sebastian Giustinian seems to have had an eye only for royalty, its angers, flatteries, sports, and weak talk, but to have given no heed to the condition of the masses of industrious citizens; but, in an age still overshadowed by feudalism, the labouring classes were held of no account by either statesmen, philosophers, or historians. With the exception of a 'Report' of his legation in England to the Venetian senate—of which after-mention will be made—and which relates the personal qualities of the king and queen, of Cardinal Wolsey, of the peers, and of the English military force, the volumes convey but a faint idea of what a foreigner thought of England and its people; but they manifest an ambassador, an Italian of consummate craft and power of intrigue, and with the shrewd watchfulness of a minister of secret police, noting every phase in the often-shifting scene of politics, and stealthily reporting to his government the progress or otherwise of his negotiations. In fact, these volumes repeat the familiar tale of king plotting against king, by means of agents at once wily and unscrupulous—the negotiations themselves frequently interspersed with the strangest theological references and scriptural quotations—the

use of cipher-writing, evincing occasionally the delicate and sometimes the infamous nature of the subjects of dispute; and the same cunning, trickish, shuffling, long-drawn correspondences between ambassadors and their courts, only less disgraceful and futile than those we meet with in the present day, when the minister condescends to place one of his wearisome blue-books before Parliament. These volumes, however, do not commend themselves to the reader so much for the novelty of the facts detailed in them, as that—to quote a sentence from Mr. Ruskin, in his work on the architecture of Venice—the history contained in them ‘is that written at the time of which it treats, the history of what was done and seen and heard out of the mouths of men who did and saw—the events which in those days were actually passing before the eyes of men.’

From an early period, the English government had taken a part more or less active in continental politics, and, as generally has happened, to the sad neglect of reforms and changes which were needed at home. Thus, when war broke out between any of the great European powers, recourse was always had to this country, the insular position of which rendered it not only secure from invasion, but able to afford powerful help to any maritime state, and without the liability of being attacked in return. The absolute authority of the monarch, and the resources of the mercantile classes, readily furnished for the purposes of foreign aggression, caused the English name to be respected far and wide, and its alliance to be eagerly desired by continental potentates. The Venetian ambassador forcibly represents this, when alluding to subsidies furnished by the English court—for, an unhappy willingness to interfere, by that method, in European politics, has been for many ages distinctive of its government. ‘It is more necessary than ever,’ he wrote to the Doge, ‘to cultivate the friendship of King Henry, *who is so well able to supply your enemies with money*, and thus support the war against you without openly declaring himself. You also perceive that here in London are embassies from all the greatest princes in Christendom, and all hammer at this anvil—some for money, some for favour.’ Long before the accession of Henry VIII., Venetian vessels had touched at Hampton, as Southampton was then termed—vessels called ‘the Flanders galleys,’ bearing as cargo—‘carico,’ as it was expressed in the Tuscan language,—the productions of the fertile and costly East, the luxuries of Italy, which then was to other nations that which France now is, and the wines of Syria, Greece, and Spain—the malmsey so often alluded to in the works of our early poets. At that time the Venetian republic was in its glory. From the palace of St. Mark had gone forth those decrees which affected distant nations; before which

the fiery Moslem quailed, and which the Spaniard and the Genoese reverently heard. Her fleets had fought, for the empire of the sea, with the mightiest armadas which had ever floated upon the waters of the Mediterranean, and the Cross had never been opposed to the Crescent with greater skill and valour than when the 'Bride of the Sea' sent forth her forces to battle for the honour of the Church, and for the independence of the West. Successive Doges had shed a long-descending glory upon the city of lagoons. Both mercantile and martial, Venice was a name of plenty and power, and, 'throned on her hundred isles,' she was at once the Tyre of commerce and the Carthage of naval prowess. When her very existence was threatened by the league of Cambrai, it was of great importance to the republic that England should not join that formidable confederacy; and ambassadors were sent to the court of London to obtain, if not its active aid, at least the assistance of its subsidies, hoping thereby to regain the cities of Verona and of Brescia, which had fallen into the power of the Emperor Maximilian.

Sebastian Giustinian has furnished amusing narratives of his entry into London, which throw some faint light upon the rudeness and simplicity of the times. He wrote: 'With the aid of our Lord God, we reached Dover, having been at sea (from Boulogne) twenty-four hours, owing to the foul weather, which buffeted us mercilessly; subsequently entering London with a retinue of two hundred horse. One of the Venetian embassy described himself as entering into London, wearing two shirts, 'one over the other,' his doublet all patched and moth-eaten, in a sorry shabby fashion—obliged to clothe himself afresh in the rough frieze of the country—for they manufactured no silk cloth at that time in England; and, as he quaintly expressed it, 'purchasing each of my penn'orths for twopence,' and under the painful necessity of hiring servants who were common thieves; so that 'one glutton robbed him of a silver-gilt ewer,' which had cost its owner twenty-eight ducats. Some years later, an ambassador, the Cardinal Campeggio, brought thither by the business of Queen Catharine's divorce, was not so fortunate in his entrance into London, according, at least, to the account of it given by Hall. Told in the homely phraseology of the time, the brief narrative forcibly describes the barbarity of the age, and the utter absence of that dignity which is now supposed to hedge the representative of a powerful monarch; and all this, too, thirty years after that Columbus had discovered America, and opened its vast continents to the introduction of Christianity and of a partial civilization. Much of the ambassador's luggage, as it would be termed in the present day, had been placed upon mules, which slowly advanced to the City. When they came

into 'Chepe,' a mule broke loose from the driver, overturned its own burden, and threw the procession into confusion, overthrowing the packages of two or three other mules. The various parcels were burst by the violence of the fall, 'and out of some fell old hosen, broken shoes, and roasted flesh, pieces of bread, eggs, and much vile baggage;' at which sight the boys cried, "See, see my lord legate's treasure; and so the muleteers were ashamed, and took up all their stuff, and so passed forth."

The despatches of Sebastian Giustinian refer frequently to Henry VIII., the latter part of whose reign has caused him justly to be regarded as a harsh and bloody tyrant; but, during his earlier years, he had many of the better qualities of a prince. The avarice of the father had not deprived the son of the advantages of the best education the times could afford; but it was an education altogether in harmony with the age, tending rather to the development and perfection of his physical, than to the expansion and strengthening of the intellectual, powers; but the latter were far from having been neglected. One of the most expert and valiant knights of his day, unless, indeed, courtly flattery has too favourably represented his skill and prowess—and viewed with a strict morality, the tournament of that day was but little superior to the 'prize ring' of the present:—He also spoke French and Latin, and, not wholly unacquainted with Italian, he was an accomplished musician—a talent which was inherited by his daughter Mary, who, in her most melancholy moods, loved to resort to the delicious airs which, in her youth, she had learned in the palace from the minstrels of the south.

In the 'Report,' made by Giustinian to the senate, much is related of the English monarch, who won the praises of the sensual Italian. In his twenty-ninth year, when that document was written, and extremely handsome, wearing a beard 'which looks like gold;' a good horseman and jousting; passionately fond of hunting and of tennis, and withal hearing masses daily, we can readily believe that the monarch was held in admiration by his subjects, who, charmed by his fascinating exterior, were unable to pass fitting judgment upon either the mental or the moral characteristics of the *man*. Loving pleasure above all things, and carefully fostering all that could produce it, he was naturally fond of peace, admiring in war its 'pompe and circumstance,' rather than the stern encounters of the field, although he kept three 'armies' in full equipment. Inheriting the wealth painfully hoarded by his father, and with a large revenue derived from estates, forests, and meres, from custom-duties and from confiscated property—always large under a despotic rule—and from numerous other sources always open to irresponsible autho-

rity, Henry was, perhaps, the wealthiest monarch in Europe. Luxury, however, is expensive. Even for the pageants of royalty there must be a day of reckoning; and Henry soon experienced that often-recurring courtly pleasures are ruinously costly; and that the money-lender is often mightier than the king. Fond of display, no inconsiderable part of his revenue was expended in dress, amounting annually to 16,000 ducats—an enormous sum in that semi-barbarous age, when commerce was restricted and specie scarce. The richness of the king's clothing, of which many details are given, attracted the attention of the ambassador, who reported: 'He is the best dressed sovereign in the world: his robes are the richest and most superb that can be imagined; and he puts on new clothes every holiday.' While enumerating the many qualities, and referring to the habits of the English ruler, the shrewd Italian does not omit to mention that Henry was greatly addicted to the silly vice of gambling—losing, to some Frenchmen at his court, 8000 ducats in a day.

Next to the monarch, to a foreigner the most attractive person at the English court was the Cardinal Wolsey, at that time forty-six years old, industrious, intriguing, eloquent, and unscrupulous. Of low origin, he had gradually risen to the highest offices in the state, and to a dignity in his church inferior only to that of the pontiff himself. The 'Despatches' of Sebastian Giustinian contain many highly interesting details of the pomp and arrogance of this ecclesiastic, and of the great power which he wielded in England. In fact, Wolsey was general-director of the kingdom, managing all state affairs of every kind, paying great attention to the wants and wishes of the poor, earning for himself thereby golden opinions from the masses of the people. The ambassador appears to have thoroughly understood the character of the wily churchman, and has expressed it when he wrote—'His right reverend lordship never says what he means, but the reverse of what he intends to do.' Giustinian speaks of him as a man being quick of quarrel, easily exasperated, and, while irritated, he would often nervously 'gnaw a cane' which he held in his hand, and to which Skelton alluded;—

'In Chamber of Stars,
All matters there he mars,
Clapping his *rod* on the board,
No man dare speak a word;—

his irritation often inducing him to make use of fierce and insolent language, and which, with his extreme arrogance, ultimately lost him the favour of the king, and hurried him to that doleful fall, from which he was destined, 'like Lucifer, never to rise again'—a reverse of fortune which the greatest of English poets has portrayed in immortal verse. The following quotation

from the ambassador's 'Report' to the Venetian senate, supplies valuable additions to the information we had previously possessed of the wealth, power, and haughtiness of the Cardinal:—

'The cardinal is the person who rules both the king and the entire kingdom. On the ambassador's first arrival in England, he used to say to him,—"*His Majesty will do so and so*:" subsequently, by degrees, he went forgetting himself, and commenced saying, "*We shall do so and so*;" at this present he has reached such a pitch that he says, "*I shall do so and so*." He is in very great repute—seven times more so than if he were pope. He has a very fine palace, where one traverses eight rooms before reaching his audience-chamber, and they are all hung with tapestry, which is changed once a week. He always has a sideboard of plate, wherever he may be, worth 25,000 ducats; and his silver is estimated at 150,000 ducats. In his own chamber there is always a cupboard with vessels to the amount of 30,000 ducats, this being customary with the English nobility. He is supposed to be very rich indeed in money, plate, and household stuff. The archbishopric of York yields him about 14,000 ducats; the bishopric of Bath, 8000. One-third of the fees derived from the great seal are his. His share amounts to about 5000 ducats. By the New Year's gifts, which he receives in like manner as the king, he makes some 25,000 ducats. . . . No one obtains audience from him unless at the third or fourth attempt. As he adopts this fashion with all the lords and barons of England, the ambassador made light of it, and at length had recourse to the expedient of making an appointment through his secretary, who sometimes went six or seven times to York House before he could speak to the cardinal. It is the custom for the ambassadors, when they go to the court, to dine there, and on their first arrival in England, they ate at the cardinal's table, but now no one is served with the viands of the sort presented to the cardinal, until after their removal from before him.'—pp. 314, 315.

The conception which the ambassador formed of the English military force seems to have been correct, so far as we have the testimony of his contemporaries. He represents the army as deficient in that cumbrous heavy cavalry, which generally formed a large proportion of continental troops in those days, when the strictness of military discipline had not as yet succeeded to the irregular method of warfare which obtained in mediæval times. Giustinian estimated the whole cavalry force of the island at less than a thousand, but the infantry, the real military power of the kingdom, at 150,000, and who were in fact archers—'their prowess is in their bow'—that weapon which had oftentimes won victory for their forefathers, not only upon French fields, but in multitudinous conflicts with the undisciplined and unfortunate levies which the Scottish kings led against the southern chivalry. He observes—'they insist on being paid monthly, nor do they choose to suffer any hardship; but when they have their com-

forts, they will then do battle daily, with a courage, vigour, and valour that defy exaggeration.'

These 'Despatches' shed but the faintest gleam of light upon the condition of the great body of the English people. In them he mentions some destructive rioting in London, occasioned by a conspiracy formed among the populace for the slaughter of all the foreign residents, and for the sacking of their houses—outbreaks 'caused by the absence of the king and cardinal'—and to resist which the householders appear to have armed *en masse*. The riots much alarmed the Italian, and he prayed his government to give him permission to return home, on account of the risk 'to his person and property.' He makes another brief allusion to these disturbances—but the details are wanting, swallowed up in the darkness of that remote past. Frequent mention is made in these despatches of the 'sweating sickness'—*sudor Britannicus*—that mysterious disease which, introduced by the invading army of the Duke of Richmond in 1485, during the succeeding half-century again and again committed frightful ravages in England. Probably it was some modification of typhoid disease; but the earlier writers, Doctors Caius, Mead, and Cullen, are not agreed in opinion, either of the nature or origination of this formidable malady. During Giustinian's residence in London, the pestilence destroyed vast numbers of the people—the disease not continuing more than twenty-four hours, and, at the end of that time, if the patient survived the horrible sudorific process, he very rapidly returned to vigorous health. It was peculiar to this plague, that foreigners resident in England escaped the infection, while the natives suffered severely. Reference is made in the ambassador's letters to such exemption, and all writers on this disease, from the earliest down to M. Rayer, have remarked upon it. Wolsey had repeated attacks of the disease—his pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham affording no protection against a renewal of the evil. The royal household suffered much, even the pages, who slept in the king's chamber, dying; the court was broken up; the disease produced universal fear; merchants fled from their stores; the gay and dissolute abandoned the scenes of their frivolity and revelry; the wretched labourers feared to go forth to work; abroad there was danger, at home there was dread; the king, nobles, ambassadors, in fact all who were able, fled from the pestilence-stricken cities and towns, hoping to escape, in the purer air of the country, from that contagion which fell like a dire mildew both on palace and cottage. The disease had a tendency to recur. No attack, however severe, shielded the patient from a second; and having himself suffered, twice in one week, his servants lying dead in his house, Giustinian entreated

the Doge to grant him permission to return to his much-loved Venice, from the island of the fatal and inscrutable disease.

The careful reader will find in these volumes much valuable information of the times of Henry VIII.—many curious narrations, which will be sought for in vain in the received histories of that age, and which, to some extent, illustrate the ecclesiastical and political institutions under which the English nation was benighted and enslaved during the reign of the intemperate iconoclast of our first reformation,—and narratives which are all the more valuable, insomuch as they were written, not only by an eye-witness of the events they record, but by a careful and most shrewd observer of the king and court. The volumes, which are in an antique style, are very elegant; and they are enriched by a large body of invaluable notes, and by an appendix by Mr. Rawdon Brown, who seems to have admirably performed his part as translator of the very interesting despatches of the republican ambassador. We heartily recommend the volumes, the worth of which has been considerably enhanced by the efficient manner in which they have been brought to light from the hidden treasures of Venetian archives, and presented to modern readers. They will be consulted and reperused when multitudes of contemporary publications have been cast aside and forgotten.

ART. IV.—*Orr's Circle of the Sciences*. A Series of Treatises on the Principles of Science, with their Application to Practical Pursuits. London: Orr & Co.

2. *The Museum of Science and Art*. Edited by Dionysius Lardner, D.C.L. London: Walton & Maberly.

3. *Lectures, in connection with the Educational Exhibition of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce*. Delivered at St. Martin's Hall. London: Routledge & Co.

4. *Lectures on Education*. Delivered at the Royal Institution by W. Whewell, D.D., F.R.S.; Professor Faraday, F.R.S.; R. G. Latham, M.D., F.R.S.; C. G. Daubeny, M.D., F.R.S.; Professor Tyndale, F.R.S.; J. Paget, F.R.S.; W. B. Hodgson, LL.D. London: John W. Parker & Son.

THE education of the people has been the favourite subject of discussion for a long period, and it has engaged the attention of men holding the most opposite opinions. A careful examination of all that has been written or spoken upon this great question

will show that one conclusion stands forth from all the controversial points pre-eminently clear. As amidst the boiling of storm-troubled waters, the roar of winds, and the rush of dark and angry clouds, the great Pharos of the British Channel sends forth its cheering radiations to warn and guide the voyager, irrespective of his nation—be he friend or foe—so, from the tempest of words, and the storm of conflicting opinions, beams one truth, recognised by every creed and party—around which, let us hope, all may rally and learn lessons of love and peace in its pure illumination.

SCIENCE every one now admits must form an important part of every system of education which may be adopted. This has lately been seized upon as a newly recognised truth, and many have dilated upon it as a discovery of their own. It is not new—but it has of late risen into importance amongst us, and hence ‘Practical Science’ and ‘Popular Science’ have become fashionable phrases.

The *Mechanics’ Institutions* were organized by Dr. Birkbeck, from a conviction that the artisan class would be improved by knowing the principles of the machines and tools which they were in the habit of using. The *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge* was founded to carry out the great principle of teaching all men science. The *British Association*, with its annual meetings and its itinerating character, had for its main object the diffusion of a taste for scientific inquiry amongst the people. From these efforts has the now fully recognised truth grown—but it has grown quicker since the year 1851 than it did before, the accelerating cause being the Great Exhibition. In that vast gathering we saw the result of a long series of educational struggles—a remarkable combination of circumstances so singularly happy that they could not be regarded as fortuitous. In that great temple of industry, as men contemplated the results of thought and labour, they saw that those who were most familiar with nature and her laws took the foremost positions, and gained the highest honours. They learned that the laws of mechanics, the elements of physics, and a knowledge of chemical affinities, led to excellencies which could not be arrived at by any amount of uneducated labour. Thus, the value of science, as a branch of popular education, was forced upon all, with the strength of a firm conviction.

This manifested itself in various ways. The ‘surplus fund’ of the Great Exhibition was expended in the purchase of land upon which it was proposed to raise a people’s college—a ‘Solomon’s House,’ in which should be realized the beautiful dream of Bacon’s Atlantis—and in aid of this grand scheme the House of Commons, by a most liberal vote, showed the feeling of its

members. The government organized the new Department of Science and Art, selecting for its direction two men who had been the most active in the business of the Great Exhibition; and they added a School of Mines to the already existing Museum of Practical Geology, the most popular feature of which has been the courses of evening lectures given by its learned professors to working-men.

The Society of Arts has endeavoured to revive the spark in the decaying ashes of the Mechanics' Institutions, and to some extent the effort has been successful. An extensive union of these associations has been formed, and naturally this insures an increase of strength. Recently the same society arranged an Educational Exhibition, during which lectures were delivered, some of which have been published in the volume quoted at the head of this article. When we find the Master of Trinity College, the Dean of Hereford, Cardinal Wiseman, and William Ellis lecturing from the same platform, in the same cause, we have certainly a convincing proof of the popularity of the subject of Practical Education. The Royal Institution, too—usually regarded as the aristocratic temple of science—has had its lectures on the same subject given by able and earnest men. Oxford and Cambridge have been roused from their repose, and compelled to give to Physical Science a place beside the classic throne. In addition to these examples we may add the numerous serials devoted to popular science, from which, however, we have chosen the two which are at the head of this article as being peculiarly illustrative. They are different in their characters. One of them is much more 'popular' than the other, but its aim is not so high; they are the best and the cheapest of the scientific serials.

Although such strenuous exertions are now being made to give science its proper place in the schools, we must not fail to remember that the present efforts are but the renewal of equally zealous attempts, dating as far back as the commencement of the present century.

Standing, then, just within the circle of a new year, we can but inquire what are the manifest results of those efforts which have been spread over so large a portion of time and embraced so wide a space.

The reply is not so satisfactory as we could desire. There has been an extensive diffusion of knowledge, but the great mass of the people observe as imperfectly as they ever did, and draw imperfect conclusions from what they do observe. Science has been well said to be *trained and organized common sense*, yet we find common sense as much at fault now as it ever was. Notwithstanding the diffusion of scientific knowledge the people remain defenceless against the practices of cheats. Surely the

test of a correct education is the power which it gives the possessor of examining for himself. Let facts speak—the public will swallow any pill if it be only gilded with electricity. There is no tale too absurd for belief if it be associated with magnetism; hence, the masses are constantly the dupes of specious pretenders and plausible charlatans. Facts of every-day occurrence show that the public are as open to the schemes of deceivers, and are as readily worked into a mania in 1855 as they were in the days of Mississippi bubble, or of *The Great Mine Adventure*.

Dr. Lardner has some remarks in his 'Essay on Weather Prognostics' which are much to the purpose of our position.

'It is astonishing in this age of the diffusion of knowledge how susceptible the public mind is of excitement on any topic the principles of which do not lie absolutely on the surface of the most ordinary course of elementary education. It was only in the year 1832 that a general alarm spread throughout France lest Biela's comet, in its progress through the solar system, should strike the earth; and the authorities in that country, with a view to tranquillize the public, induced M. Arago, the astronomer royal, to publish an essay on comets, written in a familiar and intelligible style, to show the impossibility of such an event. Several panics in England, connected with physical questions, have occurred within our memory. There prevailed in London a "water panic," during which the public were persuaded that the water supplied to the metropolis was destructive to health and life. While this lasted, the papers teemed with announcements of patent filtering machines; solar microscope makers displayed to the terrified Londoners troops of thousand-legged animals disporting in their daily beverage; publishers were busy with popular treatises on entomology; and the public was seized with a general hydrophobia. It was in vain that Brande analysed the water at the London Institution and Faraday attempted to reason London into its senses. Knowledge ceased to be power; philosophy lost its authority. Time was, however, more efficacious than science; and the paroxysm of the disease having passed through the appointed phases, the people were convalescent.'—Vol. i. p. 68.

Still more strongly would similar remarks apply to the lamentable mania for table-turning and table-talking, and to the yet more recent disease connected with the discovery of gold in England. No amount of reasoning could carry conviction in the former case, and absolute ruin was the only argument which brought men to their senses in the latter.

There must be something radically wrong in the systems of education which have been hitherto adopted, otherwise men would, at least, form correct opinions on things which were occurring before their eyes, or, at least, they would be conscious of some fallacy, even if they could not detect it, when an interpretation wide of the truth was volunteered by others for probably interested motives.

Our education has consisted mainly in learning the signs by which ideas are expressed or truths told. Would it not be an improvement to cultivate ideas and teach truths at the same time that a knowledge of the signs is being acquired?

It may be argued by some that this has been done; that the classic studies of our universities tend to awaken in the mind the highest powers of thought; and that mathematics and logic train the possessor in the use of those powers.

Mankind appears to advance in knowledge by one of two methods. The first, a process of abstract thought; the second, a system of inductive observation and deductive reasonings. In the great literatures of Greece and Rome which have descended to us we find principally examples of the former method, and our modern philosophy is an instance of the latter.

In the classic books we find beautiful truths. These truths were the result of psychological efforts, such as we rarely meet with now-a-days. The scholars of Athens or of Rome 'saw through a glass darkly,' and, aiming for light, they established a process of *thinking out* the truth. This was not exactly what we now signify by the word speculation; it was an inner process, such as we sometimes know to be in action in that state of the mind called *reverie*, when there is produced an exaltation of mental power—a *far-seeingness*. Hence those books are full of beauties which we cannot afford to lose, and they contain truths which every one must profit by who studies them. But let us not forget that

‘Sages after sages strove
In vain to filter off the crystal draught
Pure from the lees, which often more enhanced
The thirst than slaked it, and not seldom bred
Intoxication and delirium wild.’

We must admit, however, that we have rarely risen from the study of a 'book of sage antiquity' without feeling that it possessed a power of thought which advanced it above the condition of ordinary human efforts; that it gave indications of the mind's immortality, in the advances which were ever made to that condition of *prævideo* which so nearly resembles prophetic power. Therefore we are far from desiring that the ancient philosophers or poets should be banished from our schools. We are not of that class which teaches utilities alone; and we believe the present age is suffering from the miserable *cui bono* cry of the past thirty years. No truth, however abstract it may appear, becomes known to man without lifting him in the scale of intelligence, and it is certain eventually to have its application in purposes of high utility. A few examples of this will demand our attention presently. An eminent naturalist,

whom it hath pleased the Almighty Disposer of all events to remove from the scene of his labours, in the very busiest year of his busy life—a man beloved by all who knew him, and regretted deeply as a real loss to the ranks of science—writes:—

‘Far be it from me to disparage the educational value of the glorious literatures of Greece and Rome, or to withhold due honour from the many able and learned men who give dignity to their profession as educators. To them I would appeal for the rectifying of the evils of a one-sided education. I would implore them, in the name of Aristotle, the greatest of naturalists, and most admirable of observers—how great otherwise none knows better than they do—to avail themselves of that science upon which he laid so much stress, and through it to cultivate those tracts of the mind that now lie fallow and unproductive.’—Edward Forbes on the Relations of Natural History to Science and the Arts.

The same teacher again says, so truly, that we may take the passage for our text on popular science:—

‘The earliest efforts of infant intellect are directed towards the observation of natural objects. Animals, plants, minerals, are collected by the schoolboy, who delights to note their shape and qualities, and rudely to compare and classify. But the thirst for natural knowledge thus early and unmistakably manifested is rudely quenched by unpalatable draughts of scholastic lore administered too often by a tasteless pedagogue, who, blind to the indications of a true course of education, thus plainly pointed out by human nature, developing itself according to the laws of its own God-given constitution, prunes and trims, binds and cramps the youthful intellect into traditional and fantastic shapes; even as our gardeners of a past age tortured shrubs and trees into monstrous outlines, vainly fancying to improve their aspect, arresting the growth of the spreading boughs and the budding of the clustering foliage, mistaking an unhealthy formality for beauty.’

Education is a term commonly employed with an exceedingly loose signification. One man conceives religious and moral training to be its aim and end; another interprets the term to signify reading, writing, and arithmetic; a third says it is teaching him those things by which he can best get his daily bread; and a fourth argues it is a knowledge of ‘common things.’ Without undervaluing any of these views, we are not disposed to regard either of them as fully expressing our meaning of education, which we think, should be a process of training, by which the reasoning powers of mankind may be improved, the perceptive faculties exalted, and the religious tendencies cultivated in the highest degree.

We desire to witness the realization of that state which Bacon looked forward to when in his ‘*Novum Organum*’ he wrote—

‘Only let mankind regain their rights over nature, assigned to them by the gift of God ; that power obtained, its exercise will be governed by right reason and true religion.’

Man, when placed upon the earth, was instructed to *subdue it* ; and it becomes a duty, impressed upon the race by every religious and every moral consideration, to improve those powers which the great Creator of all things has given, that he may, indeed, become the subduer of nature, and the controller, in a limited sense, of the physical agencies by which all phenomena are effected.

Science is only well-regulated common sense. Many are scared away from scientific studies by the difficulties which appear to stand at their very beginning. The difficulties of hard names and of the systems of classification which have been found necessary, appearing, like new languages, to be acquired only by persevering efforts. The principal cause why the labour of acquiring this preliminary knowledge is so great, may be traced to the defective nature of early education. Artificial instead of natural methods of training are adopted ; the modes of thinking are constrained ; and reasoning is directed by dogmatic power, along some circumscribed and one-sided path. As Professor Forbes has said, the young plant is cut and trimmed into some grotesque fashion, and all its natural beauties are destroyed.

All that is necessary to form that condition of mind which we desire, is to observe how nature works, and to follow out her indications. It may not be out of the place here to examine the progress of an individual mind in the pursuit of knowledge.

All knowledge is acquired by observation or by memory. We either observe for ourselves, or learn the results of observations made by others. The last method renders us dependent upon the mental powers of others, and induces the habit of thinking upon authority, the first generates an independent system of thought, which depends mainly upon the evidence of our senses. An authority may be good or bad, reliable or otherwise ; it is therefore important that we should have the power of examining into this for ourselves, and to do this it is necessary that we shall have improved our powers of observation.

The senses may deceive us ; the eye, the ear, the nose, and the hand, may lead us astray unless we are on the watch. The tricks of the conjuror and the deceptions of the ventriloquist furnish familiar examples of this, and the sciences of optics and chemistry supply instances of a striking character. Therefore it is necessary to train the organs of sense into correct methods of observation, and to learn to examine their evidences in juxtaposition with the evidences of well-tried authorities ; to learn to observe correctly for ourselves, and to test these

observations by the recorded views of acknowledged students in science.

An observing child finds a stone which has some striking peculiarity of form or colour. He, without knowing it, compares it with what he has seen before, or with other stones now spread around him. He has observed a fact, but unaided he can advance no further than this. He now seeks information from some authority, and he learns that his prize is a crystal, or some peculiar mineral. An intelligent mind will desire something more than this. What crystal? What mineral? will be questions on the inquiring lip. The crystal may be a diamond. How is this to be known? The mineral may be an ore of a valuable metal. How is this to be determined?

In whatever direction the fact observed may lie, the progress of inquiry is of the same order; and hence the importance of providing reliable books on popular science, that those who seek may find, and finding have no fear of being deceived.

Orr's 'Circle of the Sciences' is peculiarly the kind of work we indicate. Men eminent in their respective walks of science are engaged in writing the treatises on the principles of the sciences—men who can speak with authority. Such men as Owen and Latham are conferring a lasting benefit on the popular literature of the day, by employing their pens in diffusing correct knowledge in the cheapest form.

Dr. Lardner's work, 'The Museum of Science and Art,' occupies another position and a most important one. The treatises included are essentially popular, and few men can popularize science so skilfully as Dr. Lardner. His extensive knowledge, the polytechnic character of his mind, enables him to convey a larger amount of knowledge on a greater number of subjects, within given limits, than almost any other man. Therefore 'The Museum of Science and Art' is peculiarly adapted for awakening curiosity on any of the subjects of which it treats, while the 'Circle of the Sciences' will, if it be continued as it has been begun, be equally adapted for guiding that curiosity and satisfying it.

A great number of books on popular science have, within a few years, been presented to the public. The amount of error in these books has been so large as to destroy the good effects of the truths which they have disseminated. Lectures on popular science are given at all our Mechanics' and Literary and Philosophical Institutions. These are usually single lectures, or if the lecturer is permitted to deliver two lectures in sequence, he must be in high favour. The class of lecturers on science in these institutions is generally low; there are but some half-dozen men having any reputation in the world of science who undertake lectures in these institutions of

the people. Consequently truth and error are sadly blended together; the listeners have not the power of separating one from the other, the desultory system of lecturing, leads to the worst possible habits of thought, or rather it destroys the power of thinking at all. Truth and error are amalgamated, and spread with all that assumption of knowledge, which is the mask and domino in which ignorance performs its tricks.

Much as we talk of education, of popular science, and cheap scientific literature, we feel warranted in saying, that the spread of correct and useful scientific knowledge is as limited as the extension of pseudo-science has been wide. To improve this state of things, the books we have quoted will do much; we desire to see an extension in this direction, and to have the true philosophers of the age becoming the teachers of the people in their own institutions.

We hear men still inquiring what is the use of scientific knowledge. Let us answer by giving a few examples of the effects which arise from its want.

In the introductory treatise to the 'Circle of the Sciences' we find the following:—

'For want of the knowledge of the crystalline form of the diamond, a gentleman in California offered £200 for a small specimen of quartz. The gentleman knew nothing of the substance, except that it was bright, shining mineral, excessively hard, not to be touched by the file, and which would scratch glass. Presuming that those qualities belonged only to the diamond, he conceived he was offering a fair price for the gem. The offer was declined by the owner, who, had he known that the diamond was never found crystallized in the form of a six-sided prism terminated at each end by a six-sided pyramid, he would have been able to detect the fact, that, that for which he was offered £200 was really not worth more than half-a-crown.'—*Ib.* p. 19.

Owing to a want of knowledge of the fact that certain geological conditions are essentially necessary to the existence of coal, much money has been wasted in mining for fossil fuel where it could not be, by any possibility, found. It should be taught that over England the period of the coal formation, was more recent than that which produced the *old* red sandstone and mountain limestone, and before that of the *new* red sandstones and the lias, all of which are much older than oolites and other tertiary formations. In rocks much older than those on which the coal was formed, the Silurian rocks of Radnorshire, deep pits have been sunk at an enormous cost. In the Wealden formations of Sussex, and the oolites of Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire, rock formations which are in the very youth of time compared with the antiquity of the true carboniferous period extensive search has been made; and even within the last year men have seriously discussed the question of the existence of coal

beneath our great metropolis. 'A *little* knowledge' is, in such examples as those, proved to be indeed a 'dangerous thing.'

In mechanical science, mistakes of the most curious character are constantly being made through a want of the knowledge of the laws of motion and gravitation. To give an example—A man of much natural intelligence had learned, that the velocity of water flowing from an orifice was determined by the height of the column of water above the point of efflux; and again he had read Newton's law, that action and reaction are always equal, but in contrary directions. These were two truths obtained, and he immediately set to work to apply them, without acquiring the additional knowledge necessary to correct the wanderings of a speculative mind. He proposed to place at the back of a railway carriage a tall tube of water; through a hole at the bottom of the tube this water was to flow out with a force due to the height, and he conceived the *reaction* of the force of the flowing fluid would propel the carriage in a contrary direction. Most elaborate calculations, founded on false data, were made—considerable money was expended in the construction of a model—and, eventually, a costly journey undertaken with the view of 'bringing out' this new motive power. Although a model carriage and much costly apparatus had been made, *an experiment had never been tried*. It was with difficulty, at last, that a man of science convinced this inventor of the fallacies of his schemes, all of which would have been apparent at first if he had sought to make himself acquainted with the laws of fluid pressure. Numerous examples from other departments of science might be given, if such were necessary. The advantages which men derive from a knowledge of science is a more agreeable theme, therefore we quote from the introductory essay to the 'Circle of the Sciences' a few passages which show the utility of scientific knowledge under various circumstances:—

'Again, as to the animal kingdom, how large the mine of knowledge it embraces, and that of interest and importance not confined to the naturalist! The merchant, the manufacturer, the agriculturist, the traveller, the sportsman, have all to seek aid, in their several pursuits, from a knowledge of this department of natural history. Look to the value of our fisheries, and judge how available to the commercial world becomes this knowledge of animal nature. Nay more, but for our knowledge of natural history, one of our most important articles of food would in time have entirely disappeared from our waters. We allude to the salmon, the fry of which and the *parr* are now universally acknowledged to be identical—this fish is well known by the transverse dusky bars which mark its sides. Under the name of *parr*, it abounds in all salmon rivers; and until the researches of Mr. Shaw, Sir William Jardine, and others, proclaimed it to be the young of the salmon, it fell in thousands before the strategies of every village boy

who possessed a crooked pin and a yard or two of line. Science has now established its value, and invoked regulations for its preservation. . . . A practical illustration of only a slight knowledge of zoology, presents itself in the case of a traveller or emigrant in some unknown country. He has pitched his tent, or raised his hut, and then he finds the locality infested by serpents. He is all anxiety and fear. He knows not what to do, whether to proceed to another spot, or to remain and brave the danger. Some acquaintance with the structure of reptiles would at once have decided his plans; for with the first he killed he could decide whether they were venomous or harmless. The former, and the common viper is one, possesses on either side of the head glands which secrete their venom; and, to conduct it to the wound they inflict upon their prey, they are furnished with two hollow but long, recurved, and sharply pointed teeth in their upper jaw. The harmless serpents have no such apparatus; and thus, the two genera are at once distinguished by the absence or presence of a fang. . . . A treatise might be written on the benefits which an acquaintance with the vegetable kingdom is capable of affording. Of how great use is it in strange countries to be able to distinguish plants fit for food from such as are poisonous, and to recognise those which have been employed in medicine, or in any one of the numerous arts to which the vegetable kingdom is subservient. Even an elementary knowledge of botany is of exceeding interest and importance. Travellers in unknown lands know full well that life or death often depends upon their acquaintance with the science—an acquaintance, it may be, not derived from learned treatises, but simply from little more than the ordinary observation of those edible plants with which all persons are familiar. But even this is still a knowledge of botany. An all-wise Providence has so arranged that plants may be associated into families from their external resemblances; and, further, that plants possessing such resemblances to each other have many properties in common. One of the great families of plants is the *cruciferae* or turnip tribe, every member of which, marked by very obvious characters, is easily recognised, and scarcely to be mistaken, and all are remarkable for edible and antiscorbutic properties. The crew which accompanied Vancouver in the expedition of 1792 suffered severely from scurvy, and from want of vegetable food. The surgeon advised that they should make the first land; and at Cape Horn he found a plant, resembling spinach, which he directed to be used as food, with the happiest effects. The icosandrous plants, or such as have an indefinite number of stamens attached to the calyx, are remarkable for their fidelity to this law. They are all edibles, and are represented by the apple and pear tribes, the cherry, the strawberry, &c. There is another great family, the grasses, the members of which exceed those of any other class in number and in their essential importance to the whole animal creation. This family comprehends the grasses, commonly so called—the wheat, oat, barley, rye, &c.—of our temperate climate, and the sugar canes of tropical regions, and all possess the common properties of being nutritious and healthful. During Lord Anson's voyages, on the failure of provisions, the mariners landed

and found vegetables, which, although unknown, were recognised as belonging to this great family, and proved to be highly beneficial.'—*Ib.* p. 20.

The worth of knowledge is indeed inestimable, and, to such a community as ours, remarkable for its persevering industry exerted upon nature's raw material, what knowledge can exceed in value a knowledge of science?

We know there are people who still conceive science to be some mysterious thing, curious enough in its way, since they have seen beautiful experiments performed with electricity and in chemistry; but they cannot see how mankind has been benefited. A few words on this. An old Grecian philosopher noticed that amber (electron) when rubbed, possessed a peculiar attractive power. The curious fact was noted, and nothing more. At length it was discovered that sulphur and glass became attractive or repellant under similar conditions. Hence the first electrical machine—a ball of sulphur fixed on an axis, with a bar of iron as prime conductor, held by silken strings. Curiosity was awakened by the strange phenomena which presented themselves, and powerful electrical machines were soon made. Eventually Benjamin Franklin thought he saw indications that the brilliant spark from the prime conductor of a machine bore some relation to the terrific flash of the thunder-storm. He sent a prepared kite into the air, and realizing the fable of Prometheus, Franklin drew fire from Heaven. This grand experiment soon produced great practical results. Men learned how to protect themselves from the devastating storm. The conductor was made to discharge quietly into the earth the electricity of the overcharged air—to drain the lightning from the cloud—and quietly to restore the equilibrium of power which nature is always seeking to maintain. While in this direction the men of science were investigating the phenomena of frictional electricity, Galvani observed what he considered to be indications of animal electricity in the convulsive motion of frogs when placed in contact with two dissimilar metals. Volta, however, soon corrected this error, and showed that the electricity was due to the chemical action of the moisture on the frog's body on the metal employed. Chemical-voltaic electricity, or galvanism, was thus discovered, and the voltaic battery became, in the hands of Davy, an agent capable of breaking up the most powerful chemical affinities, and of proving to the world that the earths, magnesia and lime, clay, and the alkalies potash and soda, were metals combined with oxygen. The chemical effects of the electric current being thus determined, Mr. Spencer of Liverpool taught mankind to use it in metallurgy, and hence all the processes of electrotype and electro-plating. Magnetism had long

been thought to be a form of electrical force, its attractive and repelling power so much resemble that of an electrified body. Oersted of Copenhagen first proved to the world the real relation of the two forms of force. He showed that a magnet always placed itself at right angles to the direction of an electric current. Sturgeon—a man to whom too little honour has been done—a self-educated man, who rose from a common soldier to become a teacher of science in England—Sturgeon showed that a bar of soft iron placed at right angles to a current of electricity became a magnet. Great has been the result of these discoveries. Wheatstone saw the useful part which this electric current might play, and to him we owe the electric telegraph, which now, over land and under ocean, carries from one end of Europe to the other man's messages, regardless of time or space.

In 'The Museum of Science and Art' will be found by far the most complete account of the Electric Telegraph in all its varieties which has yet been given to the world. The value of this instrument scarcely requires a word from us, it is now so evident to all; but the following experiment, prepared and performed by M. Leverrier, the celebrated astronomer, and Dr. Lardner, will show its powers:—

'Two wires, extending from the room in which we operated to Lille, were united at the latter place, so as to form one continuous wire extending to Lille and back, making a total distance of 336 miles. This, however, not being deemed sufficient for the purpose, several coils of wire wrapped with silk were obtained, measuring in their total length 746 miles, and were joined to the extremity of the wire returning from Lille, thus making one *continuous wire measuring 1082 miles*. A message consisting of 282 words was then transmitted from one end of the wire. *A pen attached to the other end immediately began to write the message on a sheet of paper moved under it by a simple mechanism, and the entire message was written in full in the presence of the committee, each word being spelled completely and without abridgment in fifty-two seconds—being at the average rate of five words and four-tenths per second!* By this instrument, therefore, it is practicable to transmit intelligence to a distance of upwards of 1000 miles at the rate of 19,500 words per hour.'

Appropriately does Dr. Lardner quote the singularly beautiful words of Job—'Canst thou send the lightnings that they may go and say unto Thee, Here we are!' Job xxxviii. 35. The Electric Telegraph Company alone have now organized communications over 4625 miles of country—this involves the use of 25,233 miles of wire. In the six months ending June 30, 1854, they had communicated 235,867 messages, for which they had received £62,435. The telegraphic wires of various companies now reach from Aberdeen in the North to Viterbe and Corsica in the South.

From Cork in the West to Lemburg and New Orsova in the East. They reach from Konigsberg in the Baltic to Marseilles and Toulon in the Mediterranean. These wondrous wires are now being laid over the bed of this great inland sea, and will shortly unite Africa and Europe. Reaching Egypt, they will quickly extend still further eastward. In our Indian possessions 3000 miles of telegraph are now in course of construction—these will eventually, without doubt, meet the wires from Egypt—and London may then convey instantaneous messages to Bengal or Calcutta.

In the United States of America there were at the commencement of 1854 telegraphs extending over 41,392 miles, and now an electric telegraph is projected to unite the Mississippi with San Francisco, a distance of 2400 miles. Such are the great results which have sprung from the abstract truth observed by Oersted, that a magnet placed itself at right angles to the direction of an electric current.

The extension of our railroad system, too, which has facilitated in so remarkable a manner the means of transit, completely altering indeed the relations of town to town as it regards distance, is entirely due to the original investigations of an instrument maker of Glasgow.

‘Many are old enough,’ says Dr. Lardner, ‘to remember the time when persons, correspondence, and merchandise were transported from place to place in this country by stage coaches, vans, and wagons. In those days the fast coach, with its team of spanking blood-horses and its bluff driver, with broad-brimmed hat and drab box coat, from which a dozen capes were pendant; who *handled the ribbons* with such consummate art, could pick a fly from the ear of the off-leader, and turn into the gateway at Charing Cross with the precision of a geometrician, were the topics of the unbounded admiration of the traveller. Certain coaches obtained a special celebrity and favour with the public. We cannot forget how the eye of the traveller glistened when he mentioned the Brighton ‘Age,’ the Glasgow ‘Mail,’ the Shrewsbury ‘Wonder,’ or the Exeter ‘Defiance.’ The ‘Age,’ which made its trip in five hours—and the ‘Defiance,’ which acquired its fame by completing the journey between London and Exeter in less than thirty hours.

‘Let us imagine that such a person were to affirm that his contemporaries would live to see a coach like the ‘Defiance’ making its trip between London and Exeter, not in thirty, but in five hours, and drawn, not by two-hundred blood-horses, but by a moderate-sized stove and four bushels of coal!’

Dr. Robison relates that he called on James Watt and found him with a small tin cylinder between his knees—and that Watt with all the joy of a great discoverer, like Archimedes with his shout of *Eureka*—proclaimed the discovery of a *real steam-*

engine, with arrangements for condensation and for preventing loss of heat. Those who constructed engines moved by steam before the time of Watt, took steam as they found it, and when it had done its work of raising the piston it was allowed to escape, and the weight of the atmosphere forced it again to the bottom of the cylinder. These men, ingenious and industrious, were precisely in the situation of those who are now endeavouring to apply electricity as a motive power, or as an illuminating agent. They take voltaic power—that is, the batteries,—as they find them—and they attempt to apply the power developed, perfectly ignorant of the physical conditions which regulate the force, unable to follow out the train of research,—in which alone any hope is found,—necessary to the improvement of the means for developing electricity, and of collecting and retaining it when developed. Watt knew what Papin, Savery, Newcomen, and Smeaton had done. He saw that the philosophy of the force was not understood—that the relations of heat and steam were very imperfectly known. He established a set of inductive experiments. Nature disclosed her secrets to the ardent evocator—and Watt secured for the world a source of unlimited power—a magazine of uncountable wealth. Not by electricity and by heat alone has mankind advanced in knowledge and in power—light, the most ethereal of the physical forces, has been compelled to do man's bidding.

The astronomer, by studying the laws of what is, unfortunately, called the polarization of light, has been enabled to determine the physical condition of the sun's surface—the existence of a *photosphere* or a gaseous envelope of *light* has by this means been proved. The maritime surveyor by polarized light is enabled to determine, with great exactness, the depth of water above a coral reef while yet many miles distant from the deceptive shoal, insuring thus the safety of the ship, and avoiding the labour of sounding. The sugar-refiner knows by the use of the polariscope when his syrup is in the proper state for crystallization, and beyond this, where, as in France, sugar is obtained from the beet-root or the parsnip, it enables him to decide, with unerring exactness, the condition of the crop, and thus to secure the largest quantity of saccharine matter. These and many other valuable applications are derived from the discovery of a French engineer officer that the light of the setting sun reflected from a window open, on its hinges, at a certain angle, differed in some respects from light reflected at any other angle.

Photography, too, affords us numerous examples of the value of every scientific truth, however abstract it may be. An alchemist observed a salt of silver to blacken in the sunshine, and thus we learned the chemical power of the solar rays. By the

agency of the sunbeam, we are now in possession of faithful representations of Egypt's wondrous ruins, with all their hieroglyphic records. The Temples of the Assyrian monarchs are no sooner opened to the light of day, than the solar pencil is made to draw them on the prepared papers of the explorer. Our portfolio contains photographic pictures of the Pagodas of Birmah, with portraits of the priests and the people—the classic ruins of Rome, and the Palatial Halls of Venice;—the cathedrals of the continent from Moscow to Madrid, and the fanes of our own land;—portraits, too, of friends, lost to us in the flesh for ever; of heroes and philosophers; of beasts, birds, and even of fishes, all taken from the life, and each in its native element.

Photography aids the engineer, becoming his clerk of the works. Mr. Vignolles builds a suspension bridge in Russia, and weekly in London he receives pictures, which cannot tell an untruth, showing every stone that has been laid, every chain that has been hung. Photography comes to our aid, too, in the sad necessities of war. The coasts and fortresses of the Baltic were taken by means of the camera obscura, with singular fidelity from the deck of a steamer, rolling on a restless sea, and borne onward at the rate of ten knots an hour. These are but a few of the triumphs which are derived from man's having noticed that a peculiar salt of silver—the chloride of silver—blackens in the sunshine.

Surely with such examples as these, and they might be multiplied ten-fold, none can deny the advantages of science as a branch of popular education. Let us, however, guard against the introduction of an inefficient system of instruction; one error perpetuated, does more real mischief than two truths gained can do good. The child should be encouraged to employ his observing faculties, and to examine the things which he observes. The natural system should be followed, and the artificial system avoided. A truth should be impressed on the mind of the child as a 'thing of beauty,' not for the mere value to be obtained by its practical application. The habit of looking at science as a commercial aid, of weighing truth in the scale of a chapman, is degrading in every way. The discovery of truths by the agency of inductive science is of the most exalting character to the minds employed, and the deductions of the philosopher should lift the student above the earthy world. In teaching truths—in rendering science popular—the object should be to show the bearings of *abstract* discoveries on great natural phenomena, and to advance the young mind from the consideration of nature, to the contemplation of the Almighty Creator, by whom all things have been commanded into being.

ART. V.—*The Chinese Empire.* Forming a Sequel to 'Travels in Tartary and Thibet.' By M. Huc. Late Apostolic Missionary. In Two Volumes. 8vo. London. Longman & Co.

WE were prepared to find in these volumes a picture of China taken from a peculiar point of view. M. Huc travelled as an apostolic missionary; he never forgets the fact—nor should we. His opinions, therefore, are cautiously explained, for his object is to depreciate by inuendo, rather than by direct statements, the labours of all churches but his own. This remark we make, before entering into the analysis of M. Huc's impressions, because it is convenient to notice at once the only circumstance which lessens the weight of his testimony. In all other respects we may accredit him as a just critic, and as an impartial narrator. Even on religious subjects which throw him upon the original bias of his mind, he is neither so dogmatic nor so exclusive as many others who have shared or emulated the labours of the Roman Church. Much experience of the world has taught him that men should compare their ideas without jealousy, maintain them without arrogance, and discuss them, not as competitors striving for dialectic triumph, but as students searching eagerly for the pure truth. As far, consequently, as discipline and prejudice will permit, the Abbé Huc is a clear-sighted observer of men and things. We find in his work no account of miraculous successes, of supreme influence, or of prospects for the future, superior, in a very astonishing degree, to the chances of other communions. He affirms—as a missionary apostolic may be expected to affirm—that his brethren have been in labours more abundant than those of other churches, and that they have wrought the greater part of the changes that have silently progressed in China; he attributes to them a power over the manners and feelings of the people which may be reasonably doubted; but he does not go to the length of asserting that the revolt, which has made the Tartars tremble on their throne, was produced by Roman-catholic interpositions between the intellect of the nation and the will of its alien rulers.

The revolution, according to him, was predatory before it was political. It is partially a religious movement; but, far more, an insurrection of disaffected spirits, impatient of the Mantchu reign, desirous of subverting it, in the hope of better fortune springing up for them amid its ruins; but careless of the dynastic consequences so long as they enjoy a prospect of victorious riot and luxurious plunder.

But it should be observed that the Chinese revolt occupies

little of M. Huc's attention. It is alluded to in a cursory manner, and we cannot help thinking that the author was judicious, while the revolution was pursuing its wavering and eccentric course, and while he had his own adventures to describe, in abstaining from speculations on what is as yet a wonder and a mystery. The causes of the civil war are not ascertained, though plausible explanations have been given. We discern the elements of religion, of politics, of personal ambition, of domestic feuds, rising and mingling in the storm; but who can yet tell by what agencies those mighty feuds were exerted, combined, and hurled so powerfully against an ancient throne? Yvan and Callery affirm one thing; M. Huc believes another; and Hung Jis, a Chinese convert, has persuaded some European writers, that he possesses the secret of the rebel commotion; but the various reports that are multiplied by every mail leave us still dubious, and by adding incredible romances to romantic reality, only serve to increase the confusion.

In our view, therefore, the traveller was right when he determined to give a systematic account of his vast journey, and a summary of his fourteen years' residence in China, without sailing away into theories, or imitating the bold antiquarians who read hieroglyphics by conjecture—that safety lamp of speculation. They may thus be disappointed who expected a new plan of the dynastic war; but we are satisfied by finding a body of information on the social state of China, more copious, more plainly arranged, and more interesting than any that has been brought to Europe during a long series of years. M. Huc has written, indeed, an extraordinary book on the aspects and varieties of Chinese life—a curious subject, seldom illustrated in a manner so vivid, so anecdotal, or so picturesque. Readers, when they consult these volumes, must lay aside their faith in certain current epigrams about the immobility of China, the petrified society, the Median and Persian laws, the unity of customs, the hereditary transmission of ideas. M. Huc does, in a popular way, what Remusat did, in his erudite style, and shows that Asia is but a gorgeous Europe, in which human impulses, caprices, and interests have their sway, and change the face of things precisely as they have changed the conditions of Greece and Rome, of Italy and Spain, of North and South America.

M. Huc, leaving the high borders of Thibet, travelled under the imperial protection with a flaunting escort, and was received in the towns and villages with elaborate if not sincere cordiality. The days had passed when a missionary could be dragged from spot to spot in malefactor's chains until he died—for such was the fate of the Lazariste Carayon, and he resolved, therefore, to

adopt the native costume, and with his eyebrows shaved proceeded to assume the emperor's own colour, and hereupon an amusing altercation took place. He had already, in the eyes of the mandarins, violated all laws of humility, by travelling, like a lord of the realm, in a palanquin; but the climax came when he selected the pink of Pekin fashion for his attire:—

‘We cast aside our Thibet costume,—the frightful wolfskin cap, the checked hose, and the long fur tunic, that exhaled so strong an odour of beef and mutton, and we got a skilful tailor to make us some beautiful sky-blue robes in the newest fashion of Pekin. We provided ourselves with magnificent black satin boots, adorned with soles of dazzling whiteness. So far the aforesaid Tribunal of Rites had no objection; but when we proceeded to gird up our loins with red sashes, and cover our heads with embroidered yellow caps, we caused a universal shudder among all beholders, and the emotion ran through the town like an electric current, till it reached the civil and military authorities. They cried aloud that the red sash and the yellow cap were the attributes of Imperial Majesty,—allowable only to the family of the Emperor, and forbidden to the people under pain of perpetual banishment. On this point the Tribunal of Rites would be inflexible, and we must reform our costume accordingly. We, on our side, alleged, that being strangers travelling as such, and by authority, we were not bound to conform to the ritual of the empire,—but had the right of following the fashion of our own country, which allowed every one to choose the form and colour of his garments, according to his own fancy. They insisted,—they became angry,—they flew into a furious passion;—we remained calm and immovable, but vowing that we would never part with our red sashes and yellow caps.’—
Vol. i. p. 5.

The mandarins at length submitted, and the missionary apostolic, thus grandly equipped, commenced his progress, and began descending the mountains into China. The many folded hills between which the roads wound were covered with brilliant flowers which sweetened the atmosphere. Numerous rivulets fed the fertility of the soil, but the aspects of the country varied, for rugged tracts, naked and wild, alternated with these rich scenes. After passing among valleys so pleasant that they seemed bright with the exuberance of a Syrian spring, the travellers reached a frightful maze of mountains, laden with eternal snow, and full of terrible abysses. However, these northern regions began to wear a softer appearance as M. Huc approached the second great city within the frontier, and a vivid contrast was here presented between the exterior life of Thibet and that of China. It was the month of June. Instead of white plateaus, monotonous and bare, an undulating surface of hills and plains was clothed with woods, orchards, groves of orange and

lemon trees, flowering richly, and fields of grain. Little villages, each with a fanciful pagoda, gaudily painted; farms enclosed within thickets of bamboo and banana; inns by the wayside; shops with open fronts; groups of peasantry engaged in agriculture; and itinerant sellers of rice, wine, soup, pastry, and tea, formed a Chinese picture of peculiar life and truth; above all, a strong odour of musk impregnated the air, as it does in every part of China. Says M. Huc:—

‘Travellers in remote countries have often remarked, that most nations have an odour which is peculiar to them. It is easy to distinguish the negro, the Malay, the Tartar, the Thibetan, the Hindoo, the Arab, and the Chinese. The country itself even, the soil on which they dwell, diffuses an analogous exhalation, which is especially observable in the morning, in passing either through town or country; but a new comer is much more sensible of it than an old resident, as the sense of smell becomes gradually so accustomed to it as no longer to perceive it.

‘The Chinese say they perceive also a peculiar odour in a European, but one less powerful than that of the other nations with whom they come in contact. It is remarkable, however, that in traversing the various provinces of China, we were never recognised by any one except by the dogs, which barked continually at us, and appeared to know that we were foreigners. We had indeed completely the appearance of true Chinese, and only an extremely delicate scent could discover that we did not really belong to the “central nation.”’—*Ib.* p. 21.

Reaching a town of the second order, two days' march from the frontier, they were conducted to a palace, and waited on by attendants clothed in silk; but at the next city, the capital of the province, ominous rumours reached their ears. A great throng met them in the streets, and M. Huc's palanquin was followed by a military guard. They were to be ‘brought to trial by order of the Emperor!’ For what offence? They knew nothing; but it seemed afterwards that the design was to obey the letter of the law, and ascertain the character of the stranger and his companions, who came with a foreign doctrine into the land. M. Huc is not very polite to his judges. The first dignitary he met was the prefect of the garden of flowers, ‘short, broad, and round,’ with a face ‘like a great ball of fat,’ but still more imposing was the aspect of certain familiars of this Chinese inquisition, who might be seen from the waiting room of the hall of justice, running backwards and forwards in long red robes, and hideous peaked hats of black felt or iron wire, surmounted by a straight plume of pheasant's feathers. They carried immense rusty swords, chains, pincers, and torturing

plements, of strange and terrible forms. At length a cry as of demons was heard:—

‘A great door was then suddenly opened, and we beheld, at a glance, the numerous personages of this Chinese *performance*. Twelve stone steps led up to the vast inclosure where the judges were placed; on each side of this staircase was a line of executioners in red dresses; and when the accused passed tranquilly through their ranks, they all cried out with a loud voice, “Tremble! Tremble!” and rattled their instruments of torture. We were stopped at about the middle of the hall, and then eight officers of the court proclaimed in a chanting voice the customary formula:—“Accused! on your knees! on your knees!” The accused remained silent and motionless.’—*Ib.* p. 49.

Of course M. Huc would not kneel, and the trial ended in formalities. In spite of the Inspector of Crimes, ‘a kind of attorney-general, a wrinkled old man, with a face like a pole-cat,’ the missionary apostolic would *not* be terrified, and the Chinese missed their aim. Up to a recent period missionaries visited China at their peril; and even now, although an imperial edict has been promulgated in their favour, they are liable to insult and persecution. A Chinese mandarin, of the ordinary stamp, is the worst specimen of human nature endued with a little brief authority. He is meanly obsequious to those of higher rank, and meanly tyrannical to all below him. Filled to the lips with maxims of pedantic clemency, he has in his national literature not one source of true moral learning; for though Europe was once fascinated by an ideal view of China, drawn by Voltaire, few are now inclined to accept the estimate of one who understood only the forms of virtue, and confounded pretentious epigrams with principles of real morality. Montesquieu knew more of the East, and M. Huc confirms his opinion and ours that China, under Chinese religion and Chinese laws, is one of the most degraded empires in the world. Wherever Christian proselytes have been made, within its limits, their manners have been softened, and their social relations improved; but the light only glimmers, and it is for many future pilgrims to warm and beautify with Christian teaching the people of China. The doctrines ascribed to Confucius—himself a mythical personage—are those of the worst fatalisms, calculated to make nations servile, rulers ferocious, animals of men, and beasts of burden of women. These are views not very common in Europe; and it is important to test their accuracy. We will adduce from M. Huc’s narrative passages of unpremeditated corroboration, in order to aid in destroying those false ideas of China which certain sectaries propagate, in order to show that the Chinese were a simple, virtuous people, whose partial corruption is derived from

their intercourse with Europe. We ourselves have no belief in happy heathenism, or in beneficent tyranny, and we take China as no exception to the rule that Asia, the region of pagans and despots, is that quarter of the world in which the signs of original learning have been quenched, and in which men retrograde, because they have not the grace which makes nations pious or the knowledge which makes them free. Good principles are to be discovered in the Chinese system, such as that of communal suffrage; but their influence is neutralized by the servility which every man practices to those above, and the superciliousness he shows to those below him, in the exactly graduated scale of official authority. But M. Huc's judgment is most severe in its meaning when it is most temperate in its expressions. 'We must not,' he says, 'wholly despise the Chinese.' We must not, indeed, despise them or any other people so lost; but our sympathy cannot be the same as we feel for races whose ideas are kindred, and whose civilization is coeval. They have to be raised from intellectual sloth and from social barbarism; and to the Christian communions of Europe the charge of their instruction is confided.

M. Huc naïvely describes the hypocritical parting between himself and the viceroy of the first Chinese province through which his journey lay. The magistrate declared, with pathetic eloquence, that the missionary's departure would 'rend his heart,' and the missionary, with an adaptiveness very like a Jesuit, but not very like an 'apostle,' vowed that the separation would 'plunge him into a depth of grief.' Nevertheless, without many pangs, they bade a mutual adieu, and 'at last we entered our palanquins, and the procession, preceded by twelve soldiers armed with rattans, opened for us a passage through a dense throng of curious spectators. All were desirous of getting a glimpse of these famous 'western devils,' who had so strangely become the friends of the viceroy and the emperor; and of this fact no one could doubt, since, instead of strangling us, they allowed us to wear the yellow cap and the red girdle.'

That China is a country of pretences, every page of M. Huc's narrative more clearly shows. The traveller describes his conversations on Christianity, the incidents connected with Catholic missions, the part taken by the Emperor, and the notions of the people themselves, on such matters. Material luxury is the object of their lives, and never do their authors glow with such enthusiastic rhapsody as when, like Mr. Samuel Warren, they celebrate the glories of primitive jewellery and costume. M. Huc's account of a palace is more tame, but very suggestive:—

'After traversing a vast court planted with trees, we ascended to the main building by thirty beautifully cut stone steps. The apartments

were spacious, lofty, exquisitely clean, and deliciously cool and fresh ; the furniture was richly ornamented with gilding, in an infinite variety of patterns ; the hangings were of gorgeous red or yellow silk, the carpets made of woven bamboo-peeling, and painted in the liveliest colours ; there were antique bronzes, immense porcelain urns, vases of the most elegant forms, in which flowers and shrubs of the most whimsical appearance were growing : such were the ornaments that we found in this superb abode. Behind the house was an immense garden, in which Chinese industry had exhausted its resources to imitate the freedom and even the capricious sports of nature. It would be difficult to give an exact idea of these curious creations, the taste for which prevailed for a long time in Europe, and on which the rather unsuitable name of English garden has been bestowed by us.'—*Ib.* p. 188.

Notwithstanding this, and the repetition by travellers who never go fifty miles from the coast, about Chinese industry and practical civilization, the roads and bridges are in a lamentable state of decay, like those in Turkey. Great public works were formerly carried out, but the Mantchus have destroyed them ; and a system of universal pillage and neglect hastens them everywhere to ruin. Trees are wantonly cut down, pavements broken, canals left dry, and fortifications dilapidated. The people fancy that boasting makes them great, and believe that they are the only polished nation, because they are ignorant of all others. Mock courtesy, mock humility, mock liberality, are characteristics of their manners ; and paper-lanterns are emblems of their progress—a gaudy pageant, in which the dust and ashes of the sepulchre are concealed by titular gilt and heraldic decorations. Try the Chinese by their social laws—and by that most infallible test, the state of their women :—

'The condition of the Chinese woman is most pitiable ; suffering, privation, contempt, all kinds of misery and degradation, seize on her in the cradle, and accompany her pitilessly to the tomb. Her very birth is commonly regarded as a humiliation and a disgrace to the family—an evident sign of the malediction of Heaven. If she be not immediately suffocated (according to an atrocious custom which we shall speak of by and by), she is regarded and treated as a creature radically despicable, and scarcely belonging to the human race.

'This appears so incontestable a fact, that *Pan-houi-pan*, celebrated, though a woman, among Chinese writers, endeavours, in her works, to humiliate her own sex, by reminding them continually of the inferior rank they occupy in the creation. "When a son is born," she says, "he sleeps upon a bed ; he is clothed with robes, and plays with pearls ; every one obeys his princely cries. But when a girl is born, she sleeps upon the ground, is merely wrapped up in a cloth, plays with a tile, and is incapable of acting either virtuously or viciously. She has nothing to think of but preparing food, making wine, and not vexing her parents." '—*Vol. i.* pp. 248, 249.

We have been at some pains to investigate the subject, and we take it as an axiom that in no country, however Voltaire may talk of patriarchal virtue, have women ever enjoyed their rightful position unless under the Christian law ; and yet we are aware of no nation so degraded in this respect as the Chinese. The Mohammedans are slaves enough ; but the Buddhist China surpasses them in the superiority assigned to men, who esteem women as animals, and think it noble to be more excellent than they ! Writers have enlarged on the grace of a Chinese bridal, when the young girl throbs in her drapery of silk, in her chaplet of flowers, and in the pomp of her marriage pride. M. Huc has an apt commentary :—

‘ But alas ! a young married woman is but a victim adorned for the sacrifice. She is quitting a home where, however neglected, she was in the society of the relations to whom she had been accustomed from her infancy. She is now thrown, young, feeble, and inexperienced, among total strangers, to suffer privation and contempt, and be altogether at the mercy of her purchaser. In her new family, she is expected to obey every one without exception. According to the expression of an old Chinese writer, the “newly-married wife should be but a shadow and an echo in the house.” She has no right to take her meals with her husband ; nay not even with his male children : her duty is to serve them at table, to stand by in silence, help them to drink, and fill and light their pipes. She must eat alone, after they have done, and in a corner ; her food is scanty and coarse, and she would not dare to touch even what is left by her own sons.’—*Ib.* pp. 250, 251.

She may be beaten, starved, sold, degraded ; and here M. Huc adds that the Christian converts are, from this point of view, superior to the rest of the nation. He does no more than we expect him, as a missionary of the Roman Church, to do, when he launches into a torrent of eulogy on the brethren of his own denomination who have accomplished this work. He quotes, grandiloquently, a list of the saintly sisters of his creed—Helena, the mother of Constantine, Clotilda, protectress of the Franks, Paula, the entertainer of St. Jerome, Monica, friend of Augustine, and certain other women, who ‘preserved much better than the greater part of the learned doctors of their time the traditions of a mystic philosophy ;’ but his praise is not reserved for his own sect only, for it extends to all other Christians, and includes in the blessings given by a fervent heart, every labourer who takes a share in the good work. There are some interesting details in the book with reference to the suicides so frequent in China. A work in the native language treats the matter with scientific erudition :—‘The Chinese appear to have invented a terrific variety of modes of murder. The article “strangling” especially is very rich ; the author distinguishes those “strangled

by hanging," "strangled on the knees," "strangled lying down," "strangled with a slip knot," and "strangled with a turning knot." He describes carefully all the marks likely to appear on the body, and indicates the differences where the individual has strangled himself.

A common method of revenge practised by the poorer Chinese is to kill themselves so as to let their neighbours know whose conduct has impelled them to the deed. A rich man is exposed to great trouble and loss if any one he has insulted commits suicide in his house. As usual, these social contrasts produce the largest amount of suffering, and the highest and the lowest classes are the least accessible. Among the middle orders it is that Christianity has made most way.

That the opulent Chinese, possessed of such a literature as that in which his countrymen find so much cause to boast, should be impervious to moral teaching, may appear singular; but his pedantry fortifies him in ignorance. Europe is singularly curious as to the institutions and manners of Asia, but Asia is profoundly indifferent to the laws or customs of Europe. Thus the one progresses and the other decays, and in China especially, the national literature being made up of a lifeless body of treatises, apothegms, formal dialogues, and florid romances, stimulates to no inquiry, and injures the mind by satisfying it with mere scholastic philosophy, much oftener false than true. As to the language, original, antique, unchanging, and vastly spread as it is, it is suited only to a people low in the intellectual scale. Few men acquire it thoroughly, for it taxes the memory more than any other, being a compromise between sounds and ideas, and composed of innumerable signs, each with its peculiar meaning. Popular enlightenment, through such a medium, must be slow, and the Chinese, addicted as they are to change—having had fifteen revolutions, in a space of time not longer than the reign of the Bourbons—find it hard to understand foreign ideas.

All this by no means implies that they are not an ingenious people. Ingenuity is their characteristic. It is a necessity of their existence; for, isolated from the world, they are compelled to supply their own wants by their own inventions; and crowded in the habitable districts along their rivers, they have been found to devise curious modes of self-sustenance. In the practice of medicine, deprived of European science, they have found recipes of much utility; and in jurisprudence they have checked the vindictive passions of their nature by salutary laws. It is one great preventive of assassinations in China that a corpse is regarded with horror. Contact with it is held to be fearful. Burials, therefore, are conducted with many forms, and mur-

derers, who would not shrink from the crime, dare not drag the victim to a hiding place. Of course there are public executioners who have no scruples of the kind; but it is considered fortunate to be certain of a dignified funeral. M. Huc had a complimentary friend who, during his illness, assured him, with delicate cordiality, that he had ordered a coffin from the first maker in Kueng-Kiang Hang, and that it was quite ready! 'Could there be a more polite man,' says the apostolic missionary. But, returning to the subject of ingenuity, M. Huc saw the floating islands, on a lake of the interior, which support some of the people in the most densely inhabited provinces:—

'We passed several floating islands, those curious productions of Chinese ingenuity, which no other people seem ever to have thought of. These floating islands are enormous rafts, generally constructed of bamboos, which resist the decomposing influence of the water for a long time. Upon the raft is laid a tolerably thick bed of vegetable soil; and, thanks to the patient labours of a few families of aquatic agriculturists, the astonished traveller beholds a whole colony lying on the surface of the water,—pretty houses with their gardens, as well as fields and plantations of every sort. The inhabitants of these floating farms appear to enjoy peace and abundance. During the leisure time which is not occupied by the culture of their rice-fields, they employ themselves in fishing, which is at the same time a pastime and a source of profit; and often, after gathering a crop of grain from the surface of the lake, they cast their nets and bring up a harvest of fish from its depths; for these waters teem with creatures fit for the use of man. Many birds, particularly swallows and pigeons, build their nests in these floating isles, and enliven the peaceful and poetic solitude.'—Vol. ii. pp 95, 96.

We may remark that M. Huc is in error when he supposes that no other people have thought of a similar device, since the natives of Kashmeer have, from time immemorial, launched artificial islands on the lakes which adorn their valley. Still more curious, however, is the Cormorant fishery:—

'Just as our pleasant journey on the Pinghou was approaching its termination, we encountered a long file of fishing boats which were rowing back to their ports. Instead of nets, they carried a great number of cormorants, perched on the edges of the boats.

'It is a curious spectacle to see these creatures engaged in fishing, diving into the water, and always coming up with a fish in their beak. As the Chinese fear the vigorous appetite of their feathered associates, they fasten round their necks an iron ring, large enough to allow of their breathing, but too small to admit the passage of the fish they seize: to prevent their straying about in the water and wasting the time destined for work, a cord is attached to the ring and to one claw of the cormorant, by which he is pulled up when inclined to stay too long under water. When tired, he is permitted to rest for a few

minutes, but if he abuses this indulgence and forgets his business, a few strokes of a bamboo recal him to duty, and the poor diver patiently resumes his laborious occupation. In passing from one fishing ground to another, the cormorants perch side by side on the edge of the boat, and their instinct teaches them to range themselves of their own accord in nearly equal numbers on each side, so as not to disturb the equilibrium of the frail vessel; we saw them thus ranged throughout the little fleet of fishing smacks on Lake Pinghou.'—*Ib.* pp. 100, 101.

Productive art, however, decays in China; and the picturesque architecture of former times is vanishing. These results are owing to the spirit of indifference entering so largely into the native mind—a spirit engendered by fatalism, which, again, belongs to Buddhism, prolific of moral vices and absurdities. M. Huc questioned some people in a temple who were moving quickly about before the idol, but addressing no prayers to it. A relative was sick, and 'all they knew was that when a person was in danger of death, it was customary to run this way and that in pursuit of his soul, and try to bring it back, and they adopted this practice simply to do as others did, without ever asking whether the custom was reasonable or absurd, and probably also without having any great confidence in it themselves.'

As we have so far allowed M. Huc to be the exponent of his own views, we will select another passage illustrative of the social state to which China, under its rulers and teachers, has been reduced. With the exception of a society to provide the poor with coffins, partly a selfish beneficence, no associations exist for the benefit of the indigent; but

... 'The poor do not fail in retribution to form companies for taking advantage of the rich. Every one brings to the common stock some infirmity real or supposed, and this formidable capital of human misery is turned as far as possible to profitable account. The poor are formed into companies, regiments, and battalions, and this great army of paupers has a chief, who bears the title of "King of the Beggars," and who is actually recognised by the State. He is responsible for the conduct of his tattered subjects, and it is on him the blame is laid when any disorders occur among them that are too outrageous and dangerous to public peace to be endured. The King of the Beggars at Peking is a real power. There are certain days on which he is authorized to send into the country some of his numerous phalanxes and bid them ask alms, or rather maraud all over the environs of the capital. The pencil of Callot would be necessary to paint the burlesque, disorderly, scandalous appearance of this army of vagabonds, marching proudly to the conquest of some village. Whilst they swarm about like some devastating insects, and seek by their insolence to intimidate every one they meet, their king calls a meeting of the principal inhabitants, and proposes for a certain sum to deliver them from

the hideous invasion. After a long dispute the contracting parties come to an agreement, the village pays its ransom, and the beggars decamp to go and pour down like an avalanche upon some other place.' —Ib. pp. 326, 327.

This extraordinary usage reminds us of the 'King of the Thieves,' so often a hero in the coffee-house romances of the Rammadhan in Turkey and Egypt. We must now close our account of M. Huc's travels. Our extracts will have shown that the work in which these travels are described is of a varied and interesting character. It is a true picture of Eastern life and manners. It discloses, without theoretical formula, much that is connected with the marvellous Chinese rebellion; and it adds largely to the information which we had derived from previous explorers. Written in a graphic and animated style, and cleverly translated, it is likely to find a considerable number of English readers. We will venture to sum up our opinion of its contents by saying that it opens a scene of political and social decay, and that this decay, acted upon by the influence of Christianity, corroding and renovating at once, may produce a wonderful and beautiful transformation in China.

ART. VI.*—*Jashar. Fragmenta Archetypa Carminum Hebraicorum, in Masorethico Veteris Testamenti textu passim tessellata collegit, ordinavit, restituit, in unum corpus redegit, Latine exhibuit, Commentario instruxit Joannes Gulielmus Donaldson, S. Theol. Doct.; Collegii SS. Trinitatis apud Cantabrigienses quondam Socius.* [Jashar. Original Fragments of Hebrew Odes interwoven in the Masoretic Text of the Old Testament, collected, arranged, restored, digested into one body, translated into Latin, and furnished with a Commentary. By J. W. Donaldson, D.D.] pp. 352. Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz. London: Williams & Norgate. 1854.

THE vast improvement which has taken place of late years in the tone and spirit of German theology, and which still continue to make way at a rapid rate, is a cheering prognostic of a brighter future for Christendom. The palmy days of rationalism are gone by never to return. Once dominant in nearly every German university, it is now barely tolerated in a few; and its grey-headed

* Messrs. Williams and Norgate are the London Agents for all the works noticed in this article.

professors have lived to see the crowds of students which formerly thronged their class-rooms become 'small by degrees and beautifully less,' until there seems a fair prospect of the speedy extinction of the school for want of disciples who may be indoctrinated in its withering principles. Ever since the time of Schleiermacher its star began to set. Himself undeniably a rationalist, that great man was yet the leader of a reaction which could not fail eventually to explode the system. By recalling men's thoughts to the indestructible facts of the Christian consciousness, he showed that there was another depository of the truths of revelation besides the Book, and one which all the shafts of criticism must fail to reach. Here, in the mysterious life of the church, springing out of the facts of the Gospel history, and perpetuated from age to age, Christianity was mistress of an impregnable fortress, which would for ever defy all the assaults of her foes. Let men cavil at their pleasure against her sacred records, they would still have to deal with her inscrutable history and her undeniable existence. The Bible was not written on paper only; it was engraven in the hearts of millions, and this *subjective* testimony to its truth and divinity was plainly one which, from the nature of the case, could never be got rid of. Reason, so far from achieving a triumph over the religion of Jesus, by throwing a slur upon its documents, thereby only rendered the problem impossible of solution. To explain away miracles, it was shown, was of no avail, unless that marvellous concrete deposit, so to speak, of God's mighty creative acts in human history—the Church—could also be explained away. By the earnest and incessant reiteration of such appeals to subjective Christianity on the part of Schleiermacher and his numerous disciples and followers, the pride of an overweening science, 'falsely so called,' received a wholesome check, and was brought to a sudden halt in its sweeping generalizations. The new impulse thus created soon gathered strength, assisted as it was alike by the moral and intellectual weight of its ever multiplying friends, by the proverbial love of the German people for the subjective, and by the circumstances, both religious and political, of the times. The events of the last great European war had a peculiarly sobering effect upon the nation, and predisposed it for the religious awakening which attended the celebration of the third centenary of the Reformation in 1817, soon after the peace. The controversy occasioned by the publication of the celebrated theses of Pastor Harms, which produced a sensation throughout Germany only second to that caused by those of Luther himself, was a heavy blow and great discouragement to Rationalism, from which it has never recovered. Even the appearance of Strauss's infidel 'Life of Jesus' did good service in more ways than

one. Besides annihilating the insidious exegesis of Paulus, in order, by getting rid of his clumsy naturalisms, to make room for his own bolder mythical theory, Strauss compelled all the waverers to choose sides, and rendered palpable to the blindest, the utterly anti-christian character and aims of the negative criticism. Then came the revolution of 1848, the recoil from which, amidst much that is anything but matter of congratulation, has at least had this good result—it has given the *coup de grace* to Rationalism. The demon is cast out—the German Church begins to be herself again, and is earnestly striving to recover her lost position as the first-born daughter of the Reformation.

We are aware that there are some persons who still are sceptical as to the mighty change which is asserted to have come over the spirit of German theology, and will be ready to imagine that it is hope rather than reality which tells this flattering tale. The conversion is so sudden that, in spite of the best and clearest evidences, they will hardly be convinced of its genuineness. Saul, amongst the prophets, and his namesake, the persecutor, amongst the saints, are marvels more easily comprehensible to some minds than this strange and unlooked-for transformation. The reaction against Rationalism, however, is a great fact, all such gloomy misgivings and ungenerous suspicions notwithstanding. It is in full career, and there is even manifest peril of its being pushed too far in the opposite extreme. A movement analogous to the Puseyite ferment in the Anglican communion, has shown itself in the German Church, and will require to be very jealously watched by all the true friends of Protestantism both there and here. The danger is the more threatening, precisely on account of the previous wide prevalence of those sceptical habits of thought which made Rationalism so popular in its day. Every thinking person is aware that unbelief and superstition are constantly thus playing into one another's hands, and that they are less incompatible evils than at first sight may appear. The facility with which the French nation exchanged the lessons of the Jesuits for those of Voltaire is an example on the grandest scale, to which, on a smaller, Robert Owen's child-like submission of his reason to the 'spirit-rappers' of New York affords an edifying counterpart. To disbelieve the Christian evidences requires no larger share of credulity than is fully equal to the task of crediting the story of a saint's crossing Dover Straits on his cloak, or of swallowing the dogma of transubstantiation along with the sacrament. Or, to put the matter in another light, Rome and Tübingen have equally firm faith in man, and are equally destitute of faith in God. Both put human reason, or what they choose to consider such, against Divine revelation. Let any one read Cardinal Wiseman's 'Lectures on the Roman-

catholic Religion,' on the one hand, and Strauss's 'Glaubenslehre' on the other, and he will see that the conclusion implied in both is one and the same—viz., that we have no need of the Bible.

The books on our table are amongst the most noteworthy theological publications which have appeared in Germany within the last few months. No pains have been taken to weed out those of a rationalistic tendency. Of course, therefore, if we may judge from the current talk in certain alarmist circles, the tares are out of all proportion to the wheat. What is the fact? Only two or three out of some score are at all infected, and by far the most morbid specimen of the whole is, we blush to say it, the production of an English divine. 'Palnam qui meruit ferat.' It would be difficult to rake up from the charnel-house, in which the abortions of the most licentious Rationalism of a bygone day lie rotting and forgotten, a more offensive work than that to which we allude. The author has certainly done his best to earn the 'bad pre-eminence' of which he seems ambitious, as chief of the *sansculotte* brigade in the army of unbelief. Just at the time when its old standard-bearers are flagging, when every fresh appearance of Baur in print is more moderate than the last, when Schwegeler, disgusted at the ever accelerating 'retrograde march' of theology, transfers his critical scepticism from the barren field of the apostolic history to the more appropriate one presented by 'Livy's Annals', lo! a new champion rushes to the rescue of the failing cause, and seeks to reanimate the dispirited host, in the person of a countryman of our own. Dr. Donaldson, who has greatly distinguished himself as an acute etymologist and classical philologist, in his 'New Cratylus,' his 'Varronianus,' his edition of 'Pindar,' and other works, has unhappily taken into his head that he is destined to bring about a complete revolution in theology. For some time past we have heard ominous whisperings in various quarters as to the terrible mine which this certainly clever but somewhat conceited grammarian was preparing to spring beneath the foundations of all existing churches and beliefs. Well, the redoubtable book has appeared, and there is no denying that it is charged with combustibles enough to create a most tremendous explosion—of laughter or indignation, according as the matter is looked at in its lighter or graver aspect.

For aught that we can see, had Dr. Donaldson simply fulfilled the letter of the promises which his title-page holds out, by collecting, arranging, restoring, exhibiting as a whole, translating into Latin, and commenting upon the ancient fragments of Hebrew odes, assignable, in his opinion, to the lost book of Jashar, which is actually twice cited in the Old Testament (viz., Josh. x. 13 and 2 Sam. i. 18), he might perhaps have earned the thanks of the true friends of biblical science, and would, at all

events, not have outraged propriety, and insulted the religion of which he professes to be a minister, as he has done by writing what we cannot refrain from stigmatizing as one of the most atrocious libels upon the Book of God ever penned. He has prefixed as his motto our Lord's words in John v. 38, 'Search the Scriptures,' and seems to understand them as affording him a warrant for tearing the Scriptures to pieces. According to him, the Old Testament, as we have it, is a huge imposture. His 'Book of Jashar' is the real Bible, if any such there be, and all the rest is 'leather and prunella.' Moses never wrote a line of the Pentateuch, which is for the most part a tissue of mythical narratives—mere dross, with here and there only a glittering nugget of the true gold of Ophir. These precious fragments all belong to the old Hebrew anthology, styled the 'Book of Jashar,' or 'Uprightness,' the composition of which our author refers to the time of Solomon. Anterior to that epoch the Jews cannot be said to have possessed any sacred books. Then, for the first time, during the long and peaceful reign of the wise king, the worshippers of Jehovah, long harassed by foreign and domestic wars, had leisure to devote themselves to literature, and then accordingly various kinds of books were published. Amongst them are those attributed to Solomon himself:—

'Besides these there were genealogies and stories of the acts of the patriarchs, and the book of the wars of Jehovah, and songs of anonymous poets relating to the same subject (Num. xxi. 27); there were epic traditions concerning the Judges, amongst which the story of Samson was put together in a manner displaying, as it seems, a good deal of ingenuity; lastly, Davidic Annals were in circulation, whence the author of the books of Samuel must have drawn a great part of his materials. But,' adds the master of Bury St. Edmund's Grammar School, 'all this literature savoured rather of history than of religion, however ready we may be to grant that that theocratic history of the Israelites was closely bound up with the rule of piety. Accordingly, in order that the faith of the worshippers of Jehovah might have somewhat whereon to rest, there was composed, or rather compiled and put together, the Book of Uprightness (*Liber Probitatis*, *הַיֶּשָׁר סֵפֶר*), which, in my opinion, taught that man in the beginning was upright, but that, through carnal wisdom, he had revolted from the spiritual law; that the Israelites were elected that they might keep and hand down to others that law of uprightiness; that David had been made king on account of his cultivating religious uprightiness, and that, after many victories, he had handed over the kingdom, established in the profoundest peace to Solomon, his son, who, by dedicating the temple to Jehovah, and causing this anthology of the older and more recent odes to be published, seems to have carried the Jasharan bliss (*felicitati Jasharanæ*) to the highest pitch. It is probable that the prophet Nathan, David's counsellor, Solomon's

instructor and tutor (2 Sam. xii. 25), who is even reported to have written the annals of his own time (1 Chron. xxix. 29), was the editor of the book, of course under Solomon's auspices, and with the assistance, perhaps, of Gad. The book, therefore, was the first-born offspring of the schools of the prophets, and one which ministered spiritual aliment to the greater prophets. Accordingly, Dr. Donaldson goes on to say, in explanation of his design, 'what I have attempted in this work is as if out of a wall composed of ancient stones and bricks of a later age, after the manner of a tessellated pavement, one were to pluck out those stones which formerly constituted the vestibule of the sacred edifice, so as to restore the pristine shape of the architecture. He who should do so would not hasten the fall of the tottering edifice, but rather

'Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis.'—Præfat. vii., viii.

Our author then proceeds to express his surprise that whilst Welcker, Hermann, and others, have bestowed great pains on the fragments of Æschylus; whilst Meinecke has edited the relics of Greek comedy in four whole volumes; whilst Alcæus and the other lyric poets have found those who did not disdain to collect their 'scattered limbs,' no one has thought it worth while to expend the same labour on the oldest monuments of Sacred Scripture, 'especially when by so doing we may get down to the inmost marrow of the Divine Book.' Accordingly, since no one else would attempt the adventurous descent, he has himself, he says, determined to try 'whether it may not be possible to drag back this buried treasure of revealed truth from its Herculeum into the domain of day,' 'which endeavour,' he adds, 'should it answer my expectations, I hope to kindle a new light over the whole of theology.' The preface concludes with a statement of the author's reasons for having his work published in Germany, and accordingly writing it in Latin, in preference to enriching the literature of his own country with the inestimable gem. These reasons (which perhaps were not the only ones) are not very flattering to our national pride. He thinks there are no biblical scholars amongst us competent to deal with a production of such prodigious learning, and therefore seeks for judges only amongst the Germans, 'in whose midst flourishes the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, every kind of incitement to biblical science, an uncorrupted love of the truth, and, in fine, that true and fearless faith which invites candid and honest discussions, and does not shun the light of truth.' What he contemplates is, he says, a *concio ad clerum*; the swinish multitude and the seditious ringleaders of faction he detests and spurns from him. For our own part, we have no objection whatever to his being left in the hands of the German divines. We are quite sure that justice will be done upon him by the jurisdiction of his own choice. He has appealed unto Cæsar, and so far as we are concerned, unto Cæsar he shall go.

Hence it is rather for the information of our readers, than with any view to the refutation of his preposterous hypothesis, that we add a few sentences more upon it. We say, then, let no one be alarmed at Dr. Donaldson's imaginary concremation of the Old Testament in the fire of his critical genius, in order to extract therefrom the few drops he offers us as elixir in the shape of his 'Book of Jashar.' He has simply found a mare's-nest, like other pert philologists before him who have dreamt of setting up a popedom, with the substitution of the successors of Priscian for those of Peter. He looks out upon Christendom from his school-room at Bury, and thinks that with his ferule and the *abracadabra* of his grammatical quiddities he is about to give the law to us all, and to enlighten our ignorance in a trice. But that popular Christianity for which he everywhere affects such profound contempt can afford to smile at a hundred such fussy eureka's. His boasted discoveries are all moonshine, and his processes are happily as arbitrary as he intends them to be sweeping and destructive. There was far more show of reason in Eichhorn's atomistic theory of the composition of Genesis, which has been long since completely exploded, than in this new and still more daring scheme. To state Dr. Donaldson's hypothesis is to expose its many vulnerable points. Thus the following is his method of eliminating the 'archetypa fragmenta' from the baser matter in which they lie embedded. He first adduces his special arguments, in addition to the general one drawn from the tranquillity of Solomon's reign, to show that the composition of the 'Book of Jashar' is to be assigned to that epoch. All but the first are of the kind called circular, as will be seen at once from the sequel, although the conclusion is one which nobody would care to dispute, so far at least as the real 'Book of Jashar' actually cited in Scripture is concerned. As to the other, its date is the year of our Lord 1854, and the person responsible for it is certainly no Solomon. Here are his six arguments in brief:—

- (1.) 'The collection contained the lament of David over Saul and Jonathan, as appears from the citation 2 Sam. i. 18, and accordingly must itself have appeared after David's time.'
- (2.) 'Since, in the Benediction of Jacob (Gen. xlix.) and in the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii., xxxiii.), which are referable with perfect certainty to that collection, all the tribes are brought in as though still forming one body, our anthology must have been compiled before the revolt of Jeroboam.'
- (3.) 'Since, in the Benediction of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 5) the Greek word ἡ μάχη i. e., μάχη occurs, which could not have become current before the time when David surrounded himself with Cretan mercenary troops (2 Sam. xv. 18, xx. 7; 1 Kings, i. 38, 44), which fact must be referred to the later years of David's reign, we are at liberty to attri-

bute the Jasharan collection to the same period.' (4.) 'The name "Shiloh," in Gen. xlix. 10, according to the most probable interpretation, is only a shortened form of the name 'Solomon,' and hence it is to be inferred that that song was written during Solomon's reign.' (5.) 'Since the 'Book of Uprightness' (Jashar) starts from the fact that God made man *upright*, and since this is the very *dictum* of Solomon (Eccles. vii. 30), it is clear that Solomon would be the fittest person to compose or to set on foot that collection.' (6.) 'David subjugated the Edomites (2 Sam. viii. 14), but in Solomon's reign the Edomites recovered their independence, and this latter fact is distinctly alluded to in a fragment of the Book of Jashar (Gen. xxvii. 40). Hence that book was not compiled before Solomon's time.'—pp. 26, 27.

All this betrays a pretty flippant style of criticism, but what follows is still more buoyant :—

'This point thus settled,' he continues, 'it will not be difficult to discover where the scattered limbs of the Jasharan anthology lie hid, and to restore their pristine arrangement. For we have many finger-posts to guide us on our journey, which will preclude our deviating from the right road. In the first place the title of the book, and Solomon's *dictum* that Adam was created "upright," present themselves as such. Hence we are enabled to infer what was the starting point of the Jasharan collection, and how it would exhibit the unique destiny of the religious nation (Israel). In the next place, since the law given from God through Moses comprehended the foundations, as it were, of Israelitish piety and ethics, the Chaldee Targumist's interpretation of the name Jashar reminds us that certain fragments are to be sought for in the *book of the law*. To these will have to be added promises of bliss, and the blessings which attend obedience. The former of the two citations (Josh. x. 13) teaches us that the collection included certain triumphal odes, which celebrated the victories of the *upright*; the latter (2 Sam. i. 18) affords the hint, that the exploits of David found a place there; and if that anthology was compiled in the most flourishing period of Solomon's reign, it is impossible to believe that this great king passed over in silence his own felicity and splendour. Lastly, to prevent the possibility of our going wide of the mark whilst we are cutting our way, an eye-witness is at hand, who knew the ancient landmarks well, and who will teach us how to strike into the right road—viz., Micah the Morasthite. He, for certain, since he prophesied in the reign of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, could very well have in his hands that collection of Jasharan poetry; nor were there many other books extant at that time, whose words he could appropriate to his own use. Now it is manifest that Micah (i. 10) has transcribed verbatim that paranomastic refrain of the Jasharan lament, 2 Sam. i. 20: *Tell it not in Gath*. Moreover he alludes to the prophecy of Balaam (vi. 5), which everybody will refer to the same collection, and he frequently cites Deuteronomy, which, as we shall see, is concocted for the most part out of passages copied from the Book of Jashar. And what is of chief moment, he so uses the word יָשָׁר (Jashar) in vii. 2, as though he wished to refer his readers

to the principles of our book. Guided by the clue furnished by such witnesses and testimonies, I have undertaken to restore the Book of UPRIGHTNESS. The book, if my views are correct, may be distributed into seven parts, the *first* of which unfolds the notion contained in the word Jashar; the *second* teaches why Israel (יִשְׂרָאֵל) which name our author connects etymologically with the word יָשָׁר) was elected; the *third* shows how the elect nation came into possession of the promised rest; the *fourth* contains the commandments of uprightness; the *fifth* proclaims the blessings; and the *sixth* the triumphs of Israel; lastly, the *seventh* delineates the fortunes of David and Solomon as matters of the writer's own times.—pp. 27, 28.

This is the sort of critical legerdemain by which the Old Testament is made to shrink into the dimensions of a small pamphlet. Thus is it to be expurgated of its fabulous elements, and fitted for the digestion of the squeamish science of the nineteenth century. The 'Book of Jashar,' as *restored* by Dr. Donaldson, is all the salvage out of the wreck of what in our simplicity we have been wont to regard as the most venerable and sacred writings in existence. This is the true jewel, for the sake of which we may well be content to part with all the wood, hay, and stubble amongst which it has so long lain hidden. Behold, reader, the Bible in the Bible, which our author, by dint of such critical processes as he has himself described above, has succeeded in extricating from its shroud and recalling once more to life.

The reader would be greatly mistaken if he inferred from the Scripture references, that in reconstructing the 'Book of Jashar' according to his lively fancy, Dr. Donaldson has simply dovetailed the passages indicated together, so as to form a kind of —, not mosaic, for that word is palpably unsuitable in this instance, but German buhl-work. Our slashing editor has freely used his powers of emending, as well as combining the texts, and thinks nothing of substituting the name Shem for Adam, Adam for Noah, Abel for Nahor, and other pleasantries of this sort. As a specimen of his free handling of materials, we may cite the Third Part of his Book of Jashar, in which, by dint of omissions, insertions of lines 'of his own composing,' and other freaks of genius, he has actually metamorphosed the Mosaic history of the Deluge into a narrative of the Exodus! Thus it reads, if we have translated his polished Latin hemistichs aright:—

Gen. vi. 5-14. 'When the whole earth lay buried beneath a deluge of wickedness,

Whereas Israel walked uprightly and religiously,
Jehovah decreed that, snatched from the raging
waves of Rahab,*

* Egypt, as our author explains.

He should arrive at length at a land of rest.

An ark, therefore, was constructed by command of Jehovah, in which he might sail over the waves of earthly wickedness.

Gen. vii. 6-11. Now Israel was six hundred years old when he entered into the ark.

12. Through the desert, as through the waters of the sea, he wandered for forty years.

Gen. viii. 6. But when those forty years were over,

7. Israel sent a raven,* that it might search out a tranquil habitation;

Which went forth to and fro and brought back no tidings.

Gen. viii. 8. Therefore after a space of time he sent forth a dove,†

9. Which when it could not find a tranquil habitation

Returned to the ark, and was taken into it again.

10. But when another space of time had elapsed

Israel again sent forth the dove,

11. Which at eventide returned to him,

Bearing in its beak a green olive leaf which it had plucked off.

12. But a space again having elapsed he sent her forth a third time,

And she no more returned to the ark.

11. So Israel knew that the troubled waves had subsided.

Gen. v. 29. And that he had become a man of rest (Noah);

Gen. viii. 4. Thus having found a tranquil habitation in the holy mountain

He rested there in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month;

1 Kings vi. There he built a magnificent HOUSE OF GOD (*Bethel*),

1 Kings viii. 43. And abiding there continually in the PRESENCE OF GOD (i. e., in *Peniel*),

Deut. vi. 18. And, doing that which is *upright* and *good*,

Ps. v. 8.

Ps. xlviii. 9. Piously worshipped Jehovah in His holy temple.'

—pp. 133, 134.

Such is a sample of the text of the new Bible, with which our critic intends to supersede the old one, and which we are to receive without further ado on pain of being set down as incorrigible blockheads and dolts. The Commentary is a still more

* An allusion to the wicked spies, who terrified the Israelites by their report of the promised land.

† The faithful spies.

staggering affair. In it the most rampant Rationalism runs riot. Even this, however, is not the most objectionable feature of this superlatively bad book. The author's chief offence is of such a nature, that to expose it otherwise than by a faint allusion, would be almost to repeat it. We will only say that, not content with rejecting the current interpretation of the history of the fall, and roundly affirming the non-existence of angels good or bad to be as clearly demonstrated as any proposition in Euclid (p. 69), he persists in putting such a sense upon the narrative as, were it the true one, would render it incumbent upon every decent person to bury this leaf, at least, of the Bible nine fathoms deep in the earth. And this perverse and filthy interpretation he unfolds with a disgusting minuteness of detail which is perfectly shocking. He knows that he dares not expound this passage in his sense of it to his boys at Bury, and yet, forsooth, it is before such new light that the obscurities of theological science are all at once to vanish! In his unhallowed hands the *protevangelium* itself has positively been transformed into—but no, we must not soil our passages by saying what it has become.

After this *exposé* of the wild escapade into which an Anglican clergyman (who by the bye, facetiously tells us in parting (p. 347), that he has advanced nothing in his book but what is in strict coincidence with the Thirty-nine Articles and his ordination vows) has unhappily been betrayed, we suppose our assertion will be believed that none of the recent imports sent us by those 'sinners of the Gentiles' on the Continent is a match for this astounding production. We have a work by Ewald on the 'Antiquities of the People of Israel,' ('Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel.' 2^{te} Aufg., Göttingen, 1854, 8vo, pp. 426), which is intended as an appendix to his well-known 'History' of the same nation. Ewald's Rationalism is notorious, and we are, therefore, not surprised to find him a great favourite with Dr. Donaldson. But even he shrinks from being identified with the Tübingen school, whom, in the preface to the performance before us, he roundly denounces as atheists, and seems to hate as cordially as he does the pope, which reminds us of the Pharisaical cabman who was so mightily affronted at being confounded with 'that degraded class of men, the Smithfield drovers.' Ewald, however, though somewhat of a theological Ishmaelite, is something more than a good hater of the Roman Antichrist, to whom he is in the habit of addressing once a year or so a very plain-spoken epistle. He is also undoubtedly one of the first Orientalists in Europe, and his writings, however we may regret the false *gnosis* that pervades

them, are too important to be neglected. The treatise before us displays his usual erudition, and although it is not a complete Biblical archæology in the usual sense, will not be without its value even to those who may not require it as an accompaniment to his larger work, of which, although sold separately, it forms an organic part.

Dr. Ferdinand Hitzig comes as a theologian under the same category as Ewald, and like him is a profound Hebraist and Oriental scholar. His version of the prophetic books of the Old Testament ('Die Prophetische Bücher des Alten Testaments, übersetzt.' Leipzig, 1854, 8vo, pp. 365), forms an indispensable supplement to his commentaries upon them in the 'Kurzgefasste Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament,' the plan of which work did not embrace translations of the annotated books. The performance cannot be otherwise than welcome to Biblical students, as presenting in a concentrated shape the results of much learning and critical acumen expended upon the illustration of the sacred text, by a distinguished scholar, whose renderings may be often correct, although his opinions may not be always acceptable.

The theological standpoint of Dr. Volkmar, of Zürich, from whose pen we have an interesting monograph on Hippolytus ('Hippolytus und die Römischen Zeitgenossen; eine Kirchengeschichtliche Untersuchung.' Zürich, 1855, pp. 174), may be inferred from his being a contributor to the 'Tübingen Theological Annual,' the organ of the Baurian party, but is not offensively obtruded upon us here, although it is true his rejection of the authenticity of the fourth Gospel and the Pastoral Epistles does leak out. The piece is occasioned by the important literary discovery which has made us acquainted with so many interesting particulars heretofore unknown, respecting the early history of the Church of Rome. Our author canvasses in a calm and scholarlike manner the arguments for and against assigning the long lost 'Philosophumena' to Hippolytus; and at length, although he rejects several of the proofs brought forward in favour of the affirmative, by Bunsen, Jacobi, Döllinger, and the majority of the learned men who have examined the question, acquiesces in the conclusion. He even carries his independence of his own school in this matter so far as to style the hypothesis of Baur, its acknowledged chief, who attributes the anonymous treatise to a contemporary of Hippolytus, namely, the Roman presbyter, Caius, a mere myth. The authorship of the 'Philosophumena,' however, is by no means the only question into which Dr. Volkmar enters. He investigates the sources whence Hippolytus may be supposed to have drawn the materials for its composi-

tion, and the relation of later hæresiological writers, e. g., Epiphanius and Theodoret, to him ; and points out the welcome stores of information upon matters of all kinds relative to ancient Christianity opened up to us by that venerable church-teacher's happily recovered treatise. Such monographs are written by few besides the Germans, and the present is a fair specimen of the class. Their aim to exhaust a subject gives them for the most part a unity of purpose, and a fulness and roundness of proportion, which are quite refreshing and beautiful to all who wish thoroughly to master a question. For general readers they are not intended, and to such, it is true, they are sure to seem tedious. But for such as love to drink deep of the Pierian spring there are no books like them. We can honestly commend Dr. Volkmar's monograph on Hippolytus to all who are fond of early church history and patristic literature, of course with the *caveat* which we have already pronounced against some of his speculations.

And now to our great comfort our black list is exhausted, unless, perhaps, we must still add to it a most curious and interesting work by Professor Müller, of Basle, entitled 'A History of the Primitive Religions of America.' ('Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen.' Basel, 1855, 8vo, pp. 706.) We do not intend to notice it otherwise than very cursorily in the present article, since we hope to have an opportunity of recurring to it shortly. Our doubts as to the theological whereabouts of the author have been mainly suggested by his marvellous slowness of heart to believe in any connexion between the remarkable American *sagas* respecting a deluge, as also of the building of a tower whose top was to reach heaven, which was interrupted by the sudden descent of celestial fire, followed by a dispersion of the nations, and the Biblical narratives. We should like to know how Dr. Donaldson, who believes these narratives to be pure mythology, would explain the existence of such traditions across the Atlantic. For we presume that with Dr. Müller he would allow their authenticity, and does not imagine them to have been borrowed from the Christian settlers of the New World. As to Dr. Müller, he does not pretend to account for the circumstantial coincidences which they present with the Mosaic account, but simply confines himself to a dogged denial of any other than an accidental agreement. We give from his book (p. 515) the substance of the Mexican traditions of the flood as a specimen. The story runs thus :—At the end of the fourth age of the world, the goddess of the waters, Matcacuaje, the wife of the water-god Tlalok, appeared, and destroyed the human race by a universal deluge. One human pair alone survived the general ruin. The man was named Coxcox, and the woman Xochiquetzal. These

two had recourse to the trunk of a *cypress* in order to save themselves (the gopher wood, of which according to Moses the ark was made, is actually, as interpreters are agreed, the *cypress*). They at length landed upon the mountain Colhuacan. Coxcox is also known by other names; e. g., Cipatli, or sea-monster; Teocipactli, or fish-god, and Huehuetonacateocipatli, or ancient fish-god, belonging to our race. The reader may ask the first Russian prisoner he meets with to pronounce this name for him, which contains only one-sixth the number of syllables assigned to one word at least in that language—a word which, as Cotton Mather said of some of those in the North American Indian tongues, must have been growing ever since the building of the Tower of Babel. Another variation of the Mexican tradition gives their Noah the name Tezpi, which means the man who escaped the flood. This Tezpi, in order to save himself built a vessel, and filled it with animals of all sorts. When the waters seemed to be abating he sent forth a kite, which, however, preferred feasting upon the floating carcase of one of the drowned giants to returning into the ark. Tezpi then sent out a humming-bird, which flew back with a twig in its beak. What can be more surprising, we ask, than these distinct echoes of the Bible account? Except, perhaps, the icy insensibility and provoking stolidity of a professor of evangelical theology, who can append to such narratives the incomprehensibly dull remark, ‘on the strength of such analogies with the Biblical history of the flood, we are neither to assume any historical dependence of the primitive races from one another, nor a Christian influence upon the American traditions, but only independent formations.’ Verily, the credulity of your scientific doubter is quite a pattern for believers. Their faith is indeed that of ‘little children.’

The remaining books on our table, constituting an overwhelming majority of the whole, are, happily, as orthodox in sentiment as any published in this country. A volume in Dutch (*Nieuw Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis, inzonderheid von Nederland. Leyden, 1854. ‘New Archives for Church History, particularly that of the Netherlands’*) has got amongst them by mistake. It appears to contain, so far as our superficial knowledge of the language enables us to judge, a good deal of interesting and valuable matter, principally relating to ecclesiastical antiquities. Passing by this as not germane, we have to welcome two of the leaders of the Historical school in theology, which has already done so much to bring about the reaction against unbelief. Dr. Michael Baumgarten’s fine Commentary on the Acts is already in the hands of thousands of English readers, and has not disappointed the high expectations

excited by literary notices of the German original. The second half of his 'Night Visions of Zechariah ; or, the Voice of a Prophet to the Present Times' ('Die Nachtgesichte Sacharias.' Braunschweig, 1855, 8vo, pp. 548) is just published, and will richly reward a careful perusal. It is a most gratifying sign of the times that the continental revival of the faith of the Reformation age is attended with an awakening consciousness of the fearful mistake then committed (or rather crime, for it was nothing else) when the State was invoked as the patroness of the Church. Zechariah is peculiarly the anti-state-church prophet, and Dr. Baumgarten has done good service in calling attention to his testimony against the Byzantinism of the age. In Russia we have that baneful system carried out to its legitimate results. Let us hope that Western Christendom will soon break altogether with this Russian idea, as we are already engaged in an internecine struggle with its hereditary representative, the Tsar.

Dr. John Henry Kurtz, Ordinary Professor of Theology at Dorpat, although as yet but little known in this country, is a worthy coadjutor of Baumgarten, Delitzsch, Hoffmann, and the other great men of the historical school. His 'History of the Old Testament,' of which the second volume lies before us ('Geschichte des Alten Bundes.' Berlin, New York, and Adelaide, 1855, 8vo, pp. 564), carries out on a grand scale the leading idea of this new and influential school—viz., that revelation is to be conceived of as *history*, rather than as *dogma*. It is the history transacted between God and man. We cannot, therefore, refer the student to a better work than the present for an exemplification of the principles and method of these equally sound and learned divines. The work goes over pretty much the same ground as Ewald's 'History of the People of Israel,' but in as different a spirit as can well be imagined. Besides the present history, Dr. Kurtz has written on the 'Unity of Genesis' against Eichhorn's fragmentary theory, the 'Bible and Astronomy,' which has gone through several editions, and other important works.

The 'Union' *octroyée* by the present King of Prussia, between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in his dominions, and maintained with such a high hand against the formidable protest of the old Lutheran party, is the fruitful source of perpetual controversy. Good, however, comes out of seeming evil, and the excitement leads to the thorough discussion of the most vital questions. The constitution of the Church, which the Germans have heretofore terribly neglected, is at this moment their great theological topic, and occupies the thoughts and pens of their pro-

foundest thinkers. To Löhe's striking 'Aphorisms' and 'Three Books on the Church,' Delitzsch's 'Four Books on the Church,' Karsten's 'Seventy-two Theses on the Constitution of the Lutheran Church,' and countless other recent treatises on the same absorbing theme, some of them equally noteworthy, we have now to add Kliefoth's 'Eight Books on the Church' ('Acht Bücher von der Kirche. Schwerin und Rostock, 1854, 8vo, pp. 510), and Münchmeyer's monograph on the dogma of the Visible and Invisible Church ('Das Dogma von der sichtbaren und unsichtbaren Kirche. Göttingen, 1854, pp. 182.) The former is a masterpiece for calm Christian investigation of what the author duly feels to be the weightiest subject ever proposed to human contemplation. He approaches his august theme in no irreverent mood, and while he feels oppressed with a sense of its importance and difficulty, braces up his energies for his task in the humble but trustful temper of one who deeply feels his need of the enlightening influences of the Spirit, who dwells in the church.

'For thousands of years,' he observes, 'has medicine searched the whole field of nature and mind, in order to understand the diminutive body of man, taken from the dust, and soon to crumble again into dust, and must at last herself confess, that the extent of what she knows, is far exceeded by the amount of what is and will remain an enigma to her. Who, then, can feel confident of so explaining and anatomically depicting the body of the Lord, born and perfecting itself in miracle, extending through the fulness of the ages, through time and eternity, through heaven and earth, that everlasting, mystical body, so that no mystery shall remain?'—Preface, p. v.

Münchmeyer's *brochure* also is written in a very earnest spirit, and is not unworthy of attention, although we must protest against the conclusion to which he comes, that the 'mali et hypocritæ' are members, although dead ones, of the mystical body of Christ. It is true he attempts to guard this startling proposition from abuse, which we, for our parts, hold to be impossible, since the dogma itself is a contradiction in terms, and a flagrant abuse of both thought and language. We are right heartily glad, however, to see the subject discussed on all sides. We look upon this German ferment about the church, as a movement of œcumenical import, since it is becoming more and more clear every day that the shortcomings of the Reformation have their root in the unsettled state in which the Reformers left this cardinal question.

The sacramental controversy, on the other hand, which now agitates the Lutheran as it does the Anglican communion, is of more local interest, although it also is not without its more

general bearings. Dr. Stier's 'Holy Supper' ('Das heilige Abendmahl.' Barmen, 1855, 8vo, pp. 105) is merely a reprint of a portion of his excellent work, 'The Words of the Lord Jesus,' which is already announced for translation and early publication by the Messrs. Clarke of Edinburgh. Besides this, we have before us the first volume of Dieckhoff's 'Evangelical Doctrine of the Lord's Supper in the Reformaton Age' ('Die Evangelische Abendmahlslehre im Reformationszeitalter geschichtlich dargestellt.' Göttingen, 1854, 8vo, pp. 656), which is written in a high Lutheran tone. As a contribution, however, to the history of the miserable divisions between the Reformers upon the doctrine, which were so disastrous in their results, and continue to be so to this day, the work is not without its value.

Here we must stop for the present, reserving the remainder of our budget for a future occasion, as we have already reached the limits of our space. We cannot, however, delay the expression of our unfeigned pleasure at the commencement of a new series of Tischendorf's magnificent 'Monumenta Sacra Inedita,' by which that indefatigable scholar lays the Christian world under such deep and lasting obligation. These beautiful facsimiles of the uncial MSS. of the New Testament, and of the Septuagint version of the Old, are priceless treasures which no public library, nor any private one that can afford them, ought to be without. The present volume ('Monumenta Sacra Inedita.' Nova Collectio. Vol. I. Fragmenta Sacra Palimpsesta, sive Fragmenta quum Novi tum Veteris Testamenti, ex quinque codicibus Græcis Palimpsestis antiquissimis nuperrime in Oriente repertis, Addita sunt Fragmenta Psalmarum Papyracea et Fragmenta Evangelistariorum Palimpsesta item Fragmentum Codicis Friderico-Augustani. Nunc primum eruit atque edidit A. F. C. Tischendorf, Phil. et Theol. Dr., &c. Leipsic, 1855, 4to, pp. 320) will equally refresh the eyes of the typographical amateur and the Biblical scholar. We regret that we cannot now do more than announce its anxiously looked for appearance.

ART. VII.—*My Schools and Schoolmasters; or, the Story of my Education.* By Hugh Miller, Author of 'The Old Red Sandstone,' &c. Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter. 1854.

THE present work is the history of a man's education, written by himself. The successive incidents of a not uneventful life; the parentage, friendships, toils, recreations, relationships, casual

meetings, change of place and of seasons, health, sickness, convalescence, are all regarded as influencing the character and forming a part of the life-long education; as the schools and schoolmasters, under whose discipline the young intellect and affections attained maturity. Nor is this volume a diary, in which from time to time events as they occur are recorded, with parallel and contemporaneous reflections; it rather is a retrospect, in which the ripe judgment passes in review the influences which have impinged on the life past, and assigns to each its place and value. Then it is the retrospect of no ordinary mind; and the author's powers of memory ensure an accuracy not often found in the recollection of long past events, each in its place, with the attendant thoughts and feelings. Already the name of Mr. Hugh Miller is very familiar in England; and in Scotland it has become a household word; its bearer having appeared before the public in many characters,—as a narrator of 'Tales and Legends of the North and of the Border,' as a powerful controversialist, and especially as the interpreter of Nature in some of her most recondite departments. He has been an investigator as well as an interpreter, and has combined as few have done the faculties of original discovery and of popular exposition.

Such a book written by such a man could not be otherwise than very instructive, and it will be found no less interesting. As a literary work it may justly claim a high place, and the narrative skill displayed, especially in the effective handling of details, renders the volume very attractive. Its greatest merit, however, lies deeper. It is the work of a man of rare moral worth, and shows throughout the actions and the judgments of one whose characteristics are justice, truth, manly independence, and godliness. For working men, to whom it is especially addressed, this volume has peculiar attractions; but its general popularity is well attested by the fact, that, after having been first published in the columns of the 'Witness' newspaper, it has already, in the course of a few months, reached a third edition. In America, as well as in England, we anticipate for it a very wide circulation. It is seldom we meet with a biographical work so heartily to be commended as a book for the reading of all classes.

We have already said that the work is rather a retrospect than a diary. The life is revealed to the reader, not as it would have appeared to a contemporary friend, to whom the progressive changes in the author's tastes and judgments were as apparent as those visible in his physical and intellectual growth; but, on the contrary, as it is viewed by the author himself, after having passed through a long course of discipline, when his judgment has reached maturity, and is qualified accurately to

weigh the events which he had to *value* and record. The difference is great and obvious. In the one case the life might be represented, pictorially, by a series of views, each taken from a different point and at a different time; in the other, by one grand picture, which should assign to each particular incident its due magnitude and prominence in the representation of the life. Either form of narrative may be very instructive, and each may have its peculiar advantages. When the events of each day are written with the reflections which at the time they suggested, we have a double chronological record—one of the external, the other of the internal life; but the narrative is not a work of art, in so far as it does not supply the unity by which the whole is to be reconciled and understood. On the other hand, when a matured and cultivated mind has undertaken, through memory, with whatever aid of supplemental materials, to record its whole past experience, passing judgment or making reflections successively on each more important act or incident, the narrative may, especially if based on a large and various experience, have all the interest of a romance; from the most common form of which it will differ chiefly in the facts of the story being taken in the order of their occurrence from *one* life, not selected and rearranged from *many*; and in its containing, for the sake of their moral value, things which the mere novelist would have rejected as needless complications or encumbrances. Thus, even in autobiography of the kind before us, there is great room for art; and the narrative opens with all the interest of a novel:—

‘Rather more than eighty years ago a stout little boy, in his sixth or seventh year, was despatched from an old-fashioned farm-house in the upper part of the parish of Cromarty to drown a litter of puppies in an adjacent pond. The commission seemed to be not in the least congenial. He sat down beside the pool and began to cry over his charge; and, finally, after wasting much time in a paroxysm of indecision and sorrow, instead of committing the puppies to the water, he tucked them up in his little kilt, and set out by a blind pathway which went winding through the stunted heath of the dreary Maolbuoy Common, in a direction opposite to that of the farm-house—his home for the two previous twelvemonths. After some doubtful wandering on the waste, he succeeded in reaching, before nightfall, the neighbouring sea-port town, and presenting himself, laden with his charge, at his mother’s door. The poor woman—a sailor’s widow, in very humble circumstances—raised her hands in astonishment: “Oh, my unlucky boy!” she exclaimed, “what’s this? What brings you here?” “The little doggies, mither,” said the boy; “I couldna drown the little doggies; and I took them to you.” What afterwards befell “the little doggies,” I know not; but trivial as the incident may seem, it exercised a marked influence on the circumstances and destiny of at least two generations of creatures higher in the scale than themselves.

The boy, as he stubbornly refused to return to the farm-house, had to be sent on shipboard, agreeably to his wish, as a cabin boy; and the writer of these chapters was born, in consequence, a sailor's son, and was rendered, as early as his fifth year, mainly dependent for his support on the sedulously-plied but indifferently remunerated labours of his only surviving parent at the time, a sailor's widow.'—pp. 1-2.

We have now to learn something of the processes of growth and discipline by which the boy born into these circumstances became such a man as we find him. What powers, capacities, and tendencies, he brought with him into this world, which ought to be regarded as peculiar to himself, not held in common with other men, we shall not attempt to inquire. Such an inquiry, within our present limits, could lead to no satisfactory result, and we shall best profit by the lesson taught in this volume, if we consider of not the original elements of character in which Mr. Miller differed, but those chiefly which he shared with ourselves.

The interesting sketches of the author's ancestry, which the first chapter contains, we must pass over almost without remark. They suggest matter for reflection, and well illustrate how deep and permanent, and of how great ultimate results on the character, are some of the impressions made in infancy. Even for a seaman the father's life had been one of much adventure; and some of the stirring scenes which he described to the child, or within his hearing, were tenaciously remembered. He must have been a man of much energy and firmness, and was of a temper so equable, that his wife only once saw him angry, when it was the anger of a strong and dominant nature. During 'long Indian and Chinese voyages' he learned to write; and, under the instruction of a 'warm-hearted though reckless Irishman' he was qualified to 'take the reckoning' and 'keep a log-book,' and formed a taste for reading. He was a man of great personal strength and daring. Driven to mutiny against an overbearing and capricious captain, he had been pressed into the king's service, and, among a crew of five hundred, was the strongest man on board. But 'the country had borrowed his services without consulting his will,' and he seems to have reclaimed them on his own behalf, without first asking leave. As an instance of his promptitude and self-possession, it is mentioned that when sleeping in his boat, which was moored in one of the mouths of the Ganges, he was suddenly awakened by a huge tiger hanging on the gunwale, when with one of the boat's footspars he effectually repelled the attack. 'When not much turned of thirty, the sailor returned to his native town, with money enough, hardly earned, and carefully kept, to buy a fine large sloop, with which he engaged in the coasting trade; and shortly after he married his cousin's

daughter,' whose life soon fell a sacrifice to her husband's dangers. Once, in her presence, he had, at great risk, saved from drowning, beside the pier of Cromarty, one of his men, and this shock, from which she never recovered, was followed, at the interval of twelve-months, by a second, which proved fatal—the false news, foolishly told her, of her husband's missing sloop having fallen a prize to French privateers.

Escaping when his sloop the 'Friendship' was wrecked on the bar of Findhorn, the stout skipper, by the aid of his friends, soon acquired a new sloop, and was again married. 'There was a very considerable disparity between their ages,—the master was forty-four, and his wife only eighteen,—but never was there a happier marriage. The young wife was simple, confiding, and affectionate; and the master of a soft and genial nature, with a large amount of buoyant humour about him; strong, reliable, and gentle; altogether such a companion as might be expected to make home joyous. 'I was born, the first child of this marriage, on the 10th day of October, 1802, in the low long house (in Cromarty), built by my great grandfather the buccaneer. My memory awoke early. I have recollections which date several months ere the completion of my third year; but, like those of the golden age of the world, they are chiefly of a mythological character.'

Here follow boyish recollections of the bright gleams of joy by the fireside, when the husband and the father came home; studies of ships in the offing, and the recognition of his father's, by 'the two slim stripes of white which ran along her sides;' golden memories, too, of splendid toys, brought with him, to be soon broken with infinite delight, and it may be not without much profit to the child, who took all to pieces in the disappointed hope of finding something curious within. 'But there was a time of sterner memories at hand.' The father's last letter to his wife was written from Peterhead on the 9th of November, 1807; and the day after a fatal tempest arose and the master and his crew were never more heard of. As yet there were no forebodings in his dwelling; the letter had just been received, and his wife was sitting on the following evening beside the fire, when the author was sent to shut the door, and experienced the following apparition—

'What follows must be regarded as simply the recollection, though a very vivid one, of a boy who had completed his fifth year only a month before. Day had not wholly disappeared, but it was fast posting on to night, and a grey haze spread a neutral tint of dimness over every more distant object, but left the nearer ones comparatively distinct, when I saw at the open door, within less than a yard of my breast, as plainly as ever I saw anything, a dissevered hand and arm stretched towards me. Hand and arm were apparently those of a

female: they bore a livid and sodden appearance; and directly fronting me, where the body ought to have been, there was only blank transparent space, through which I could see the dim forms of the objects beyond. . . . Then followed a dreary season, on which I still look back in memory, as on a prospect which, sunshiny and sparkling for a time, has become suddenly enveloped in cloud and storm. I remember my mother's long fits of weeping, and the general gloom of the widowed household; and how, after she had sent my two little sisters to bed,—for such had been the increase of the family,—and her hands were set free for the evening, she used to set up late at night, engaged as a seamstress, in making pieces of dress for such of the neighbours as chose to employ her. . . . I remember I used to go wandering disconsolately about the harbour at this season, to examine the vessels which had come in during the night; and that I oftener than once set my mother a crying, by asking her why the shipmasters who, when my father was alive, used to stroke my head, and slip half-pence into my pockets, never now took any notice of me, or gave me anything! . . . But months and years passed by, and the white stripes and the square topsails I never saw.'—pp. 23, 24.

The fatherless boy had the rare happiness of finding, in his two maternal uncles, those who gladly admitted and dutifully discharged the high claims on their sympathy and guidance which this great calamity sanctioned. They were both men of the strictest integrity. The elder uncle James, a harness maker, is remembered as having 'a clear head, much native sagacity, a singularly retentive memory, and great thirst for information.' He was a keen local antiquary; fond of traditionary lore; and of such reputation for wisdom, that his advice was often sought by the neighbours; 'and the counsel given was always shrewd and honest.' 'I never knew a man more entirely just in his dealings than uncle James, or who regarded every species of meanness with a more thorough contempt.' 'My uncle Alexander was of a different cast from his brother both in intellect and temperament; and his religious feelings, though quiet and unobtrusive, were perhaps more deep. James was somewhat of a humorist and fond of a good joke. Alexander was grave and serious, and never, save on one solitary occasion, did I know him even attempt a jest.' After having acquired the trade of a cartwright, he entered the navy, 'and during the eventful period which intervened between the commencement of the war and the peace of 1802, there was little either suffered or achieved by his countrymen, in which he had not a share. He sailed with Nelson; witnessed the mutiny at the Nore; fought under Admiral Duncan at Camperdown, and Sir John Borlase Warren, at Loch Swilley; assisted in capturing the 'Généreux' and 'Guillaume Tell,' two French ships of the line; was one of the seamen who, in the Egyptian expedition, were drafted out of Lord Keith's fleet to

supply the lack of artillerymen in the army of Sir Ralph Abercromby; had a share in the dangers and glory of the landing in Egypt; and fought in the battle of the 13th March, and in that which deprived our country of one of her most popular generals. He served, too, at the siege of Alexandria. And then, as he succeeded in procuring his discharge during the short peace of 1802, he returned home with a small sum of hardly earned prize-money, heartily sick of war and bloodshed. I was asked not long ago by one of his few surviving comrades, whether my uncle had ever told me that *their* gun was the first landed in Egypt, and the first dragged up the sandbank immediately over the beach, and how hot it grew under their hands, as, with a rapidity unsurpassed along the line, they poured out in thick succession its iron discharges upon the enemy. I had to reply in the negative. All my uncle's narratives were of what he had *seen*, not of what he had done.' 'He had not his brother's fluency of speech; but his narratives of what he had seen were singularly truthful and graphic; and his description of foreign plants and animals, and of the aspect of the distant regions which he had visited, had all the careful minuteness of those of a Dampier. He had a decided turn for natural history. My collection contains a murex, not unfrequent in the Mediterranean, which he found time enough to transfer, during the heat of the landing in Egypt, from the beach to his pocket; and the first ammonite I ever saw was a specimen, which I still retain, that he brought home with him from one of the liassic deposits of England.'

It was under the guidance of this naturalist that the author received his earliest lessons on the wonders of the shore; and the direction of his later productive pursuits may have been in great part determined by this unequal companionship. Mr. Miller's mature judgment on the character of his elder uncle, James Wright, has been solemnly expressed in the inscription which he wrote with his own chisel on a monumental stone, as that of 'an honest, warm-hearted man, who had the happiness of living without reproach, and of dying without fear.'

The author's literary education began with the 'signposts' of Cromarty; by the spontaneous study of which he became familiar with the letters of the alphabet. Before his father's death he had been sent to a dame's school where he was taught to pronounce the letters in the old Scotch fashion to such effect 'that still when I attempt spelling a word aloud, which is not often,—for I find the process a perilous one, the *aa's* and *ee's*, and *uh's* and *vau's*, return upon me, and I have to translate them with no little hesitation as I go along into the more modish sounds.' 'During my sixth year I spelt my way under the dame, through

the shorter Catechism, the Proverbs, and the New Testament, and then entered upon her highest form as a member of the Bible class: but all the while the process of acquiring learning had been a dark one, which I slowly mastered in humble confidence in the awful wisdom of the schoolmistress, not knowing whither it tended; when at once my mind awoke to the meaning of that most delightful of all narratives—the story of Joseph. Was there ever such a discovery made before! I actually found out for myself, that the art of reading is the art of finding stories in books; and from that moment reading became one of the most delightful of amusements.' The stories of Samson and the Philistines, of David and Goliath, of Elijah and Elisha, followed that of Joseph. Then came the stories and parables of the New Testament. Next the contents of a library of his own—a 'box of birch-bark about nine inches square, large enough to contain a great many immortal works—Jack the Giant Killer, and Jack and the Bean Stalk, and the Yellow Dwarf, and Blue Beard, and Sinbad the Sailor, and Beauty and the Beast, and Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp, and several others of resembling character.' For 'those intolerable nuisances, the useful-knowledge books, had not yet arisen, like tenebrious stars, on the educational horizon.' So he passed on, naturally, to Homer, the Pilgrim's Progress, Robinson Crusoe, Gulliver's Travels, Ambrose on Angels, the 'judgment chapter' in Howie's Scotch Worthies, Byron's Narrative, and the Adventures of Philip Quarll, with other voyages and adventures, including the first volume of Cook's, which he found among his father's books; the collection also containing, what proved great treasures to the boy, the Voyages of Anson, Drake, Raleigh, and Dampier; and volumes of solid theology, such as Flavel's works, Henry's Commentary, Naphtali, the Cloud of Witnesses, and the Hind let Loose, to be grappled with long afterwards.

At the end of the first twelvemonth the boy exchanged the dame for the grammar school of the parish, then taught by a scholarly and honest man, who discovered, in a class of about one hundred and twenty boys, this pupil's ability and promise, at a time when he seems to have been far from a diligent scholar, and advised that he should be transferred from the English to the Latin form. For a day or two he laboured with tolerable diligence at the 'Rudiments,' but finding the rules and inflections unintelligible, and the book altogether the dullest he had ever seen, the boy's attention and industry soon flagged, and he found himself the lowest of those who formed what the master had come to designate the 'heavy class.' He made a better appearance in translating, however, than he deserved; his singularly good memory enabling him to repeat, nearly verbatim,

the rendering into English of the day's lesson, which the master, 'good simple man that he was,' gave on the meeting of the school each morning. With all his carelessness he was plainly a favourite with the master, who used to address to him observations on the English lessons, such as, 'That, sir, is a good paper, it's an *Addison*;' 'That is one of *Steele's*, sir;' and took the pains of carefully criticizing a stray 'Poem on *Care*,' which he found inscribed in the copy-book, pointing out faults of spelling, grammar, and punctuation, but generously telling the young author 'the general sense of the piece is good—very good, indeed, sir;' and adding, with a grim smile, '*Care*, sir, is, I dare say, as you remark, a very bad thing; but you may safely bestow a little more of it on your spelling and your grammar.'

Leaving the parish school and this kind good man, who was, apparently, for the majority of his pupils, not an efficient teacher, our hero was entered at a subscription school recently established by some of the wealthier tradesmen of the town; and came under the authority of the third schoolmaster who held office there; described as 'a person of high if not very consistent religious profession, who was always getting into pecuniary difficulties, and always courting, though with but little success, wealthy ladies, who, according to the poet, had "acres of charms."' The new master, who appears never to have won the respect of the boys, had wit enough to see the author's dominant influence in the school, and set himself to discover its grounds. An examination of the 'copy-book' disclosed 'deplorably scabbled couplets and stanzas, blent with occasional remarks in rude prose, that dealt chiefly with natural phenomena.' Deeming these borrowed, not invented, the master required a poem 'on the dancing school ball'—to come off next week at Cromarty. The poem was produced, and for a time the boy was rather a favourite with the master. 'I had become, however, a wild insubordinate boy, and the only school in which I could properly be taught was that world-wide school which awaited me, in which toil and hardship are the severe but noble teachers. I got into sad scrapes.' The final quarrel with the master, which led to a tough wrestling-match between them on the school floor, in which the pupil was at last thrown and cruelly beaten, and ended in our hero taking his cap off the pin and marching straight out of school—thus leaving for ever schools and schoolmasters of *that* sort—originated in the lessons of the simple dame who was his first teacher, and whose influence on his utterance was still so predominant as to prevent him from spelling 'awful' according to the master's requirements. He left, however, not unavenged, having written and put in circulation in the school and town a very clever and sufficiently severe metrical satire on his antagonist.

Having thus ended his attendance at school, and declining firmly to pursue such studies farther at College as his uncle had wished that he should, and had undertaken to provide the means of his doing, the author had before him the prospect of a life of manual labour; 'but never yet was there a half-grown lad less willing to take up the man and lay down the boy.' It was decided that he should be a mason; and he was bound for three years an apprentice to the husband of one of his maternal aunts, who was of that trade, and who usually kept an apprentice or two, and employed a few journeymen. His thoughts in the retrospect are widely different from those which, in the prospect, clouded his future life. After the experiences of the 'school in which honest labour is the teacher,' he judged it 'the best and noblest of all—save the Christian one;' one 'in which the ability of being useful is imparted, and the spirit of independence communicated, and the habit of persevering effort acquired; and which is more moral than the schools in which only philosophy is taught, and greatly more happy than the schools which profess to teach only the art of enjoyment. Noble, upright, self-relying toil! Who that knows thy solid worth and value would be ashamed of thy hard hands, and thy soiled vestments, and thy obscure tasks,—thy humble cottage, and hard couch, and homely fare?' . . . 'But I little thought of the excellence of thy character and of thy teachings, when, with a heavy heart, I set out about this time, on a morning of spring, to take my first lesson from thee in a sandstone quarry.'

Before following our author into the busy life which he entered when he left school, let us in a few sentences advert to some of the preparatory training which his narrative relates. He was come of a strong-bodied race; few boys of his height, he tells us, could beat him in wrestling; and his later indications confirm the inference that he was a well-built, broad-chested, robust youth. Then he had been early inured to dangers, fatigues, exposures; courage, perseverance, activity, love of adventure, had been the plain characters of his boyhood, and the presumed grounds of his influence with his schoolfellows. Long frequent rambles among the sea-rocks and in the woods; a wild, romantic life in the caves of the old coast line, where he and his favourite companions spent many an hour, cooking their dinner of potatoes and shell-fish, with such various dessert of wild fruits as the cliffs yielded; building extensive fortifications of turf; setting up armies of shells, and illustrating tactics on the sands; cutting, along with an old soldier, a path by which a coveted hitherto inaccessible fishing stance on the overhanging cliff might be reached; recovering, by force or stratagem, for the use of the school, the unduly withheld accustomed tribute of peats from

the passing boats ; even, on one occasion, but on one only, and that sorely repented of, robbing an orchard ; such are some of the passages in the history of his earlier years, during which a spirit of self-reliance was nurtured. More important than any of these, at least in relation to the pursuits of his life, must be reckoned his walks on the sea-shore with his uncle the naturalist, where he first learned to observe and be interested in its endless, various, and beautiful, productions. A mere boy, we find him observing rock fragments, watching insects, collecting fossils ; yet the peculiar direction of his investigations was determined, he tells us, by his irksome daily tasks. 'It was the necessity which made me a quarrier that taught me to be a geologist.' Then his strongly marked nationality, one of the most constant and noticeable elements of his writings, was very early implanted. 'I first became thoroughly a Scot,' he tells us, 'some time in my tenth year ; and the consciousness of country has remained tolerably strong within me ever since.' To the story of Wallace, the Guardian of Scotland, as told by Blind Harry, the old minstrel, the author ascribes his earliest experiences of this passion. In these burning narratives, too, his early developed faculty of story-telling seems to have found its first materials. Such was his facility and exuberance of invention, that he mentions it to have been quite usual when walking with his favourite cousin George, to make the story co-extensive with the journey, though that should be ten, twenty, or even thirty miles in length. But we are reminded that our limits are already passed ; and that a few sentences must contain what remains to be told.

Most manfully he did the work which he had undertaken. Through all hardships and temptations of general companionship, he resolutely kept his way ; submitting neither to the seductions of dissipation nor to the tyranny of his fellow-workmen. He thoroughly mastered his business. On more than one occasion during his apprenticeship, while engaged in dyke building, with stones wet and dirty, he tells us, 'I have had all my fingers oozing blood at once ; and those who think that in such circumstances labour protracted throughout a long day can be other than torture, would do well to try.' The man who has uncomplainingly passed through such an ordeal is not likely to be easily diverted from his purpose.

According to the usage of the north of Scotland, mason-work is discontinued from about Michaelmas until spring. This gave ample time for reading, which our author turned to good account. He used to write much, too, in prose and in verse ; and would sit for long hours meditating or composing in the seclusion of a comfortless loft.

His favourite reading seems to have been in the earlier and

classical poets, in books of travel, and in the older divines; from which, with the Bible, he acquired that pure and vigorous style which is now so rare a possession; and what he once read he never forgot. During fifteen years spent in stone-cutting he had good opportunities of observing the condition and habits of his countrymen; and many of his remarks relating to these are very sagacious and instructive. His health had suffered seriously, and his life even had been endangered by the malady which to stone-cutters proves so fatal, that but a very few of them outlive their forty-fifth year. He had resolved to be independent by means of his trade; thus avoiding the error which has been the ruin of so many gifted men; and so well had he kept his resolution, that he 'never incurred pecuniary obligation, and never spent a shilling for which he had not first laboured.' He was already thirty-two when an appointment as accountant in a Branch Bank in his native town delivered him from manual labour, and put it in his power to fulfil a marriage engagement which had a very romantic origin, and, so far as can be judged, a very happy issue. When the Church controversy, which has since become so important in its results for Scotland, was reaching its climax, the Cromarty Bank accountant wrote and published a very masterly letter to Lord Brougham, on his judgment in the Auchterader case, which excited such notice as led to its author being offered the editorship of the 'Witness' newspaper, then in contemplation, an office which he still holds. Thus, as he truly writes, 'Man being what he is, I fear an ability of efficient squabbling is a greatly more marketable one than any ability whatever of extending the boundaries of natural science;' which yet remains the high purpose of his life, and from which great results are still to be hoped.

How he was taught that the true central sun of the Christian system is the 'Word made Flesh, appreciated not as a *doctrine*—which is a mere abstraction, but as a Divine Person,'—how he found within the little town of Cromarty and its neighbourhood the materials at once of geological and of moral study,—how by diligence, fidelity to Nature, and patient hope, he has inscribed for himself a name and a monument in the Old Red Sandstone of his native region; what honest purpose and resolute accomplishment mark his course; how true, and loving, and manly a man he is, his own words will best discover, and to these, with the most cordial recommendations, we now refer the reader.

ART. VIII.—*Bill to Relieve Dissenters from the Payment of Church-Rates in certain cases, and otherwise to Amend the Law respecting the Making, Assessing, and Collecting of Church-rates.* Mr. Pack. Read a First Time Tuesday, 9th May, 1854.

2. *Bill for the entire Abolition of Church-rates.* Sir W. Clay. Read a First Time Tuesday, 23rd May, 1854.

3. *A Practical Guide to the Duties of Churchwardens in the Execution of their Office.* By Charles Greville Prideaux, of Balliol College, Oxford, M.A., and of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. Sixth Edition. 1853.

BOTH parties having abandoned compromise, the controversy has at length settled down to a distinct issue, and Church-rates are either to be imposed or abolished throughout the entire country. According to the semi-official 'Edinburgh,' setting out in some detail a scheme which had been heard of previously, the growing opposition of vestries is to be gotten rid of by taking away their right to interfere in the matter. A surveyor and a county magistrate are to decide and enforce everything henceforward respecting the repair of the church. The plan is very simple and effective. It will sweep away one of the oldest rights of every parishioner in the kingdom, and it will secure to the Church £250,000 a year. Indeed, it will do still better, for it will increase the receipt by re-subjugating all those parishes which during the last twenty years have emancipated themselves from the impost. According to Sir W. Clay's Bill, on the other hand, by whatever other means or from whatever other sources the fabrics of our churches are to be maintained in repair, *this* mode is to come to an end immediately. This plan is quite as simple and effective as the other; of the two we prefer it. It destroys no ancient liberties, and it gives us no manner of uneasiness as to the due preservation of that important part of the public property—the parish church.

With respect to the first of these measures, the only positive fear about it is lest it should not be forthcoming. It would really be a great pity if it should not. It was something new to us to find a proposition of this sort in the 'Edinburgh,' so much more audacious, and couched in language quite as insolent towards dissenters as anything we can call to mind in the 'Quarterly;' and there would be something wanting to the sensation if, after all, it did not become a Cabinet measure. With respect to the Abolition Bill, we scarcely know whether to attribute our anxiety to a predominance of hope or of fear. *It is considered possible to carry the Bill in this present session of parliament.* We

italicise this sentence, because we wish our readers to realize the position in which the matter actually stands, and to exert themselves with all the vigour which that position requires. If success is possible this session it ought to be worked for on the understanding that it is meant to be won this session. Consider what has been done. Up to last year the question had never been fairly grappled with. Independent members, and even Cabinet ministers, had brought forward resolutions, or asked for committees, and a certain number of members had been found to express an opinion or to sanction an inquiry, but no one had ever proposed to legislate. We believe Sir W. Clay has the merit of having been the first to suggest that the time was come for positive action, and that the proper action was to abolish the tax. For the first time then in the history of Church-rates a Bill has been brought in, and that Bill one of sheer abolition. It has been carried through a first reading by a private member despite the opposition of the Cabinet. On the motion for a second reading, notwithstanding pressure used to keep away members (it being out of the question now to get new votes against Church-rates), we have come to within twenty-seven of a majority in a House of four hundred members. On both sides of the House we have made converts, and from two Cabinet ministers we have obtained declarations such as are usually regarded as the forerunners of a decisive event. Mr. Gladstone described the case against Church-rates as 'irresistible'; Lord John Russell spoke of them as bound up with the existence of the monarchy. As we never knew of a doomed abuse that was otherwise, we regard this last opinion with especial satisfaction. While so much ground has been gained in the House, at least as much has been done in the country; and all that was done last session can be done again, and this time much more effectively. We know our men; the general election is at least twelvemonths nearer: and in almost every constituency, however varying the strength of dissent, it has now been ascertained that in the conflict of parties it is an element that *tells*. Under these circumstances we urge it, in all seriousness, as a crime of no slight magnitude, if every one of these elements of success is not tried to the uttermost during the next few months. There must be more petitions and more signatures: there must be more correspondence with our representatives, and where there is any doubt as to their votes deputations should come to town purposely to wait on them; and if only to meet that last compromise suggested by Mr. Gladstone of retaining the Church-rate system *in parishes which like it*, the Braintree case, which has been used so well during the last year, must now be brought to bear wherever a churchwarden can be found to propose a rate.

It is to this last mode of attack that we are anxious just now to draw special attention. As well as the other modes mentioned, we have reason to know that this is cared for by those who have already so successfully guided our movements; but it is more liable than others to be neglected, both because its prosecution is essentially local, and because it requires a knowledge, not of a legal kind precisely, but of the way in which business is transacted at public meetings, greater than is in point of fact commonly possessed. We have been at some pains to collect detailed information of the late vestry contests, and we have been surprised to observe in how many cases the anti-rate party have literally abandoned the victory from sheer ignorance that they had won it. This has been the case sometimes where they have had the clear majority; but we believe a majority is by no means essential to ultimate success. We have seen a letter from a clergyman, written in a style not very creditable to its author, professing to explain how he and six ratepayers can always carry a rate. The writer clearly acted illegally; but we believe that in a large number of cases a few sensible men may defeat a rate without at all violating their self-respect. The fact is, that notwithstanding the impetus given to church-rate contests by the House of Lords' judgment in the Braintree case, the immense value of that decision has not yet been fully appreciated. In many parishes it is probably even now not understood that a Church-rate is a thing resting from beginning to end on the option of the parish vestry; and where this is understood, the ratepayers are not acquainted with the steps for giving effect to their wishes. Since Lord Truro's admirable judgment, no professional work has appeared on the subject; the approaching extinction of church-rate law probably deterring some writers, while others may well be loth to incorporate into their treatises a result so contrary to their avowed sympathies, and so destructive of their carefully-elaborated suggestions for the future enforcement of the tax. The only 'hand-book' on Church-rates is still Prideaux's 'Churchwarden's Guide'; and what is wanted is a somewhat similar work, which, in the shape of a ratepayer's guide, should correct some of the conclusions and supply some of the omissions of the learned writer we have named.* Such a work, we may hint to those whom it concerns, being virtually a manual of the law relating to the conduct of business at public meetings, would undoubtedly outlive its immediate purpose.

It will be seen immediately that we are contemplating nothing which is in any sense contrary to law. But we draw rein, never-

* We learn with pleasure that such a work is in preparation.

theless, in deference to an objection of conscience, expressed sometimes by our friends, but more frequently by our opponents, in the formula, 'Obey the law : change it if you will, or if you can ; but while it is the law it ought to be obeyed.'

Now we shall perhaps meet this with something very apposite presently ; but meanwhile we choose to oppose it by the distinct point blank assertion, that in the only sense in which this principle can have any sort of application Church-rates are NOT the law. If it means anything, it means this ;—that Church-rates are the mode appointed by the Legislature for the repair of the church fabric, and, therefore, that he who opposes that mode violates the law. And we say that they are not so appointed, and that the law designedly leaves the whole matter open.

That the parish is charged with the repair of the church we not only do not deny, but shall be ready to assert when it comes in question, as some day it may. Every parish church is national property ; and we, who in this matter represent the whole community, are especially concerned to see to it, that the appearance of title does not pass over to the hands of a section, by allowing them to become exclusively charged with its preservation. But the authority to decide whether it wants repair, what repair it wants, and how that repair is to be provided, is entrusted by the Legislature to the vestry alone. A few sentences from the Braintree case, which we take as forming the very groundwork of the Lords' judgment, establish these broad positions. In extracting them, we regret only that it is to our professional readers we must look for the full perception of their strength. Their meaning, fortunately, can be seen by all.

'It has been agreed on all hands, and it is too well settled to admit of doubt or discussion, that the parishioners are liable to repair the body of the parish church. . . . It is equally clear that any *rate* for such repairs can be imposed only by a majority of the parishioners in vestry assembled. . . . *Neither the ecclesiastical courts, nor the ordinary, nor special commissioners, nor the churchwardens as such, can impose a church-rate, even when the vestry meeting has contumaciously refused to make one.*'—JUDGE CROMPTON.

'The law has cast upon the parishioners the duty of repairing the church. On this point it leaves them no option. On the parishioners in vestry assembled it casts the duty and confers the privilege of determining *whether any and what repairs are needed, whether the estimates be proper, and what amount will be necessary, and what will be the just proportion in which the common burden will be borne by the individuals.*'—LORD DENMAN.

'A church-rate is of the nature of a bye-law ; and thereby the persons liable to the duty of making the repairs decide among themselves that *the mode of performing the common obligation which they elect to adopt* is to raise a sum of money by a rate. And in my

opinion the parishioners, and they alone, are competent to make this election; and if they determine to effect the repairs in any other manner, as by their personal labour, they may legally do so; in the same manner as the inhabitants of a parish might at common law have repaired a highway, or the inhabitants of a county might have repaired a bridge. It is quite true that for many years a rate has been generally if not universally resorted to for the purpose, as the most convenient and equal mode of performing the duty; but *before the time of legal memory I have no doubt that the effecting repairs by a rate was a thing almost unknown in country parishes.*—BARON MARTIN.

Now, in urging our friends—not so much to use the rights as to discharge the duties here indicated, we are so far from straining a technical point, that their not having duly attended to them was, in this case, and has constantly been, made by the judges a main foundation of their decision in support of a disputed rate.

‘On this record,’ says Mr. Justice Coleridge, arguing in support of the rate, ‘no dispute appears as to the necessity for the repairs or any objection to the amount of the estimate. . . . I have a right, therefore, to treat the vestry, one and all, as admitting these two points, or rather as having decided them in the affirmative: as saying, we find the church needs repairs, the expense of doing which has been estimated at a reasonable sum. Having got thus far, it will not be disputed that they could not, without infraction of the law, refuse to find the necessary means of doing the repairs estimated for.’ “Nothing,” says Mr. Courtauld, in his evidence before the House of Commons’ committee (Mr. Trelawny’s), “nothing can be more striking to any person through all these judgments, nothing can strike an attentive reader more strongly than this, that in every one of those judgments in which the validity of the rate is maintained, it is specifically based upon this averment, that we agreed to the necessity of the repairs.”—Qu. 538.

Inasmuch therefore as we have all this while put ourselves wrong with the judges by the neglect of these things, we propose that the ratepayers shall neglect them no longer, but shall henceforth find their legal protection in the discharge of their legal duties. The effect of this simple course will, we believe, startle any who have not considered it. Rates are now-a-days constantly carried (nominally), and being so carried are collected, by an audacious reliance upon the ignorance of the vestry. By none is the law more constantly violated than by those whose great plea for Church-rates is the formula we have quoted—obey the law. Sometimes rates are not proposed to the vestry at all, but are levied—we really wonder with what notions of a præmunire—by the sole authority of a rector, or vicar and churchwardens, or of the former alone; sometimes parishioners on a poll are denied the votes with which the law entrusts them; and we have before us letters from clergymen indicating no indistinct

sense of the advantage which their chairmanship is supposed to give them of 'knocking off' opposition votes; sometimes the rate is loaded not merely with unnecessary items, but with items the presence of which renders the whole rate illegal. To such an extent is this the case, and so well adapted are the defences which the law has erected for the protection of parishioners, that if they would only steadily use their resources, it would almost require a special act of Parliament to obtain a rate in a single parish in the kingdom. No doubt there is an exception to this remark where money has been already borrowed under act of Parliament on security of future rates. The national faith is, in this case, pledged to the creditor for the continuance of his security until his advance is repaid; but even this exception would be undoubtedly qualified by a strict scrutiny of the accounts. In all other cases we believe it to be perfectly possible for parishioners, even although not forming an absolute present majority in a vestry opposed to the principle of ecclesiastical taxation, yet by the fair and reasonable assertion of their position before the law, to give effective support to that movement which is bringing the system to an end.

The fact is, that if a Church-rate opponent will only think a little what he is about, keep his head and show ordinary firmness and self-possession, he will have in most cases very little to do. He does not labour under the disadvantage of having to begin by putting himself right, for he is that already. The Church-rate system being unconscientious, he is *morally* right in seeking to oppose it. The law having (as we have seen) imposed upon him and his fellow-parishioners the duty of examining and deciding every proposition relative to the repair of the fabric and the maintenance of the furniture, he is *legally* right in entering into this examination and placing before the vestry those considerations which must be adverted to in order to obtain a correct and conscientious decision as far as the case admits of it. All that is necessary for him is, that while morally and legally right, he should not be technically and formally wrong. He should not, for instance, expose himself to be stopped, and very properly stopped, by the chairman, for arguing, *when the vestry has already passed the estimates*, that the church does not want repair, and moving an indefinite adjournment; and on the other hand, it is clearly his own fault if he gives up what is frequently half the effective strength of his position by confining the argument to the injustice of *compulsory* repair, when the sole question immediately pressing for decision is whether repair is wanted at all—a question in which (as concerning national property) he may be as anxious for an affirmative decision as the vicar himself. To avoid blunders of this kind, at the frequency of which we really are

ashamed, nothing more is necessary than a little plain English common sense, of which we presume our friends will not admit that their long exile from Oxford and Cambridge has deprived them. Consider for a moment the order in which, according to the very sensible observations of Mr. Justice Coleridge, the questions arise. In the first place is any repair wanted?—not, is there *likely* to be any wanted before the year is out. If that be all, the decision will most properly be made when the likelihood becomes a certainty, and the vestry may adjourn immediately. If the churchwardens should state that repair is *now* wanted, the vestry cannot either morally or legally relieve themselves from responsibility by accepting without further inquiry their opinion on a point upon which every parishioner is competent to form a judgment of his own. The law requires that the churchwardens should present estimates, framed by competent surveyors, for the guidance of the vestry; and if such estimates are not produced, vestries are judicially advised to adjourn until they are forthcoming. Even if produced they are in no sort binding; and in the very frequent case of estimates being presented which contain no sufficient information what the repairs are for, or even as to their real necessity, the vestry ought most certainly to adopt the advice of the judges, and adjourn until the estimates are amended. We are counselling nothing vexatious; we are advising nothing more than every one of us would do in his private business, or if he were acting on a committee for the interest of others. He would never rely implicitly upon the estimates of the most competent and respectable surveyor. It would be his right in the one case and his duty in the other to cut down and perhaps to repudiate what it might be the other's duty to offer, as it would certainly be his interest to enlarge. He ought, therefore, when he finds himself in a vestry meeting called to levy a Church-rate, to form a clear opinion for himself, and to obtain explicit decisions from the vestry, first of all upon the two questions—Are any repairs *now* required, and if any, what? If he thinks repairs wanted, by all means let him join in an affirmative vote; but if not, let him not weaken his position by losing the votes of all those who may be at one with him thus far, but who having this decided adversely may be willing to ease their own burden by bringing it on others of whose consciences they may not regard themselves as keepers.

With regard to the second part of this question, *what* repairs, we have seen many estimates during the past year, but we cannot call to mind one which would be accepted by an ordinary man of business in his private affairs. We have seen far too many of such a character, that if every item in them were separately objected to, and every objection followed up by a distinct vote, and every vote by a distinct poll (which by the way is

matter of right on all questions), it would be no more than the framers deserved. Of the repairs intended to be done they convey no real information, and they are stuffed full with items which it is a mere abuse of the patience of the vestry to place before them. Some of them may, perhaps, be advisedly left in, as by their gross illegality vitiating the rate even if carried; but with exceptions of this sort there is frequently no course open if the churchwardens adhere to their estimates, but to move first for their rejection in the lump, and if defeated on this point, to move separately as to each item that it be expunged. The chairman may possibly, and if he be the clergyman of the parish he probably will, attempt to put down these motions, or even refuse to put them to the vestry. Let him do so. The only thing necessary for the opponent of the rate is to adhere to his motion or his amendment; give distinct notice that he does not waive it, and require it to be entered upon the minutes. He will do well to add a formal protest against the conduct of the chairman in not putting his motion or amendment to the meeting. Under this protest he may take part in the subsequent proceedings, and vote affirmatively or negatively upon any question put from the chair. If he succeeds in carrying the vote against the chairman, upon his own ground, so much the better; but if not, and if he has only duly timed his motions as we have suggested, with reference to the questions then before the vestry, all the proceedings subsequent to his protest go for nothing, and the rate, if made, is invalid.

We wish we could represent these suggestions as proceeding from an abundant caution contemplating a merely possible case. We conceive, and we appeal to the personal experience of many of our readers, that we are exhibiting the essential spirit of the system in its actual effects. We have before us the reports of many vestry meetings held both during the pendency of the Braintree suit, and since the Lords' decision of it, showing how vestries were habitually browbeaten then, and are cajoled and overridden still. 'We do not come here to discuss estimates,' said a chairman at one of these meetings, 'we come here to make a rate.' So generally had this feeling spread, that although not formally adverted to, the consciousness of it evidently underlies several of the arguments of the judges in their advice to the Lords, and gives a point to some striking hints as to tactics by Mr. Justice Coleridge, which any one turning over half-a-dozen pages of the 'Guardian,' or of the 'English Churchman,' will find to be thoroughly appreciated by its clerical correspondents:—

'I am not aware,' said the learned judge, 'that at assemblies of the nature of a parish vestry, and constituted as parish vestries usually are, it has ever been held necessary that any precise form of proceeding

should be pursued. It would be very mischievous if it should be so held. If the questions for decision are fairly and intelligibly stated; if every one present and desirous of making a proposition has an opportunity of doing so; if every one desirous of giving a vote has an opportunity of doing so on every question proposed, all has been done in these respects which is necessary.'

Very sound sense certainly; and we doubt not, very sound law. The learned judge adds, however, 'and this was amply done here;' and supports this assertion by an argument to prove that the amendment for refusing any rate whatever was illegal, and went for nothing, and that consequently there was 'no necessity for again putting the original motion.' In relying upon this part of the argument, the pro-rate party seem not to have noticed that on both points the advising judge was directly met by Lord Chancellor Truro, speaking the voice of the House of Lords. The Lord Chancellor's judgment, independently of its argumentative superiority, which is great, is in point of law final and conclusive; and upon both points it establishes—first, that the course of proceeding required by Judge Coleridge was *not* 'amply done here,' and next insists more than once, as invalidating the rate, that the question for or against was never put to the vestry. The somewhat forcible language in which his lordship found it necessary to speak of the attempted 'evasion of an anticipated negative,' of 'authority assumed to make a rate in a manner different from the usual form,' of 'remote and analogous circuitous reasoning and tortuous presumption, and constructions contrary to palpable fact and truth,' and other expressions not less peremptory, show with ample clearness what manner of spirit it was which the highest court of judicature in the land was thus constrained to bridle.

We think, then, that in no case (except when success is certain) should opposition be postponed until the final question is put of rate or no rate. The whole system is bad, and the whole system ought to be opposed. The taking of the chair, the validity of the notice, the estimates and the rate should all in turn be brought upon the table. It will surprise our readers perhaps to be told that even the assumption of the chair by the parish clergyman is remarked on as an indiscretion, and as actually practised is often an illegality. The right rests on inference only: the judicial recognition of which is of limited extent, and accompanied with expressive observations on the danger of giving too great power to the clergy. It is almost too much perhaps for human nature to expect that a chairman circumstanced as the clergyman is, should be impartial; as a rule his impartiality is not a thing to be looked for. If the clergyman is not punctual, Sturges Bourne's Act requires the Vestry 'forthwith' to elect another. This right to elect another chairman

should be insisted on, and not given up without protest; and when he retains the chair, his conduct should be watched with vigilance, and any undue stretch of authority be peremptorily withstood. 'Every clergyman of discretion,' says Dr. Lushington, 'keeps himself aloof and away from Church-rates,' and he says, "that is the business of the churchwarden and the vestry: it is not mine." If he imprudently intermixes himself with the Church-rate, then he is very likely to get into a difficulty; but all the prudent clergy whom I have known have always kept apart.'—Question 2376.

Then, again, with respect to the notices of meeting. The old rule was that every householder should receive a notice, and there are cases on the books showing it to have been doubtful whether for some purposes anything less than a house to house notification would suffice. Sturges Bourne's Act substitutes, under certain conditions, a notice paper on the church and chapel doors. It has been quietly taken for granted—and so far, we fear, correctly—that 'chapels' do not mean dissenting chapels; but the notices are sometimes pulled down as soon as posted, and all the strictness of the King's Bench (contrasting but too honourably in this respect with the Ecclesiastical Courts) has hardly secured a *bonâ fide* statement on the notice paper of the 'special purpose' of the meeting. Now, to insist upon these points, is obviously far enough removed from technicality, but the fact is also that unless they are attended to, the vestry meeting is not duly constituted, and its proceedings go for nothing.

Of the estimates we have already spoken sufficiently for our present purpose (which is rather to direct attention to the proper points than absolutely to satisfy inquiry), and we will pass on to a suggestion or two as to the best mode of meeting the proposal for a rate—if the churchwardens get so far. As we have said, where success is certain, the best mode of meeting this proposal is not by amendment but by voting the direct negative, which, if carried, settles the question for that time. The disadvantage is that defeat settles the question still more completely than success: for upon the rejection of this negative the rate is, *ipso facto*, carried. It is, therefore, always advisable, where the anti-rate party are not all-powerful, to meet the rate by an amendment; and the only question is what form the amendment should assume. We think it should not at this stage assume the form of an indefinite adjournment; which might be open to the observations of Mr. Justice Coleridge already cited. The question now is—how the repair is to be paid for; and this may properly be answered, either by suggesting some other mode, e.g., a voluntary subscription, or by simply negating the mode proposed, e.g., a rate, leaving further suggestion to be made by the churchwardens. It will be observed that either of these amend-

ments raises a question different from that which is involved in the proposal of the churchwardens, and must, therefore, according to the rules governing these cases, be disposed of before that can be entertained. For instance, it is premature for the churchwardens to ask for a decision whether the rate shall be sixpence in the pound, when the question is raised whether the vestry will make any rate at all, or whether the money shall not be obtained by voluntary subscription. The first of these questions must be decided in the affirmative, or the second in the negative, before the ground is clear for the churchwardens' proposal. It is further to be remembered that supposing these amendments defeated, the vestry does not thereby pronounce any decision in favour of the rate demanded. It may still, after having decided against a subscription and for a rate, object to *the* rate proposed; and other amendments for a smaller rate, or otherwise, are within the limits of discussion. Too much attention cannot be paid to these points. We know of more than one instance during the last year in which the pro-rate party, after using every device of mere electioneering to procure a majority on the poll, lost all the fruit of their exertion, because, after they had defeated the amendment, the chairman forgot to put the original motion to the vestry. The rate then made came directly within the Lords' decision in the Braintree case; it was 'invalid, as not having been put to the vote.'

We are perfectly aware that in cases of such amendments as we are now suggesting—'that no rate be granted,' or 'that the churchwardens be requested to raise the money by voluntary subscription, and that the vestry do now adjourn [for two months] for that purpose,' clerical chairmen not unfrequently ignore them altogether. What we said at the outset applies. The mover must beware of not waiving his amendment, and must give formal notice that he requires it to be put. After this, the pro-rate party may carry their rate if they will, and enforce—it if they can.

One word more. We have observed, in examining the details of many meetings, that vestry contests are now being conducted more generally by dissenters of social position and influence than when SAMUEL COURTAULD addressed himself single-handed to the encounter. There is, however, evidence in the correspondence before us, that these battles are still too often left to be fought by individuals who have every qualification indeed that a high sense of right can give them, backed by a courage worthy of the martyrs, and a chivalry which feels worse than a wound a stain upon their Redeemer's honour, but whose defeat is already ensured by reason of their incompetence to deal even with such a smattering of law as we have been submitting to our readers. Nor must it be forgotten that their

relative position with their opponents is not favourable to the cultivation of those personal courtesies, which, in these contests more than in any other, add so much to the worth of success, and deprive even defeat of its power. A large part of the ill-feeling of which vestry contests have been the occasion—we cannot honestly admit them to be the cause—must be ascribed to the absence of the class who would feel the prevention of bitterness an important part of duty. We ask such to reconsider their position. It is not now as formerly; that the prize was not worth the struggle. In the system against which we are striving, every rate defeated effects a breach; every rate opposed loosens a connexion. Many whom we address cannot give their personal attention, but all can give their influence and most their aid. There are no parishes surely in the country in which they cannot find some shrewd heads fully competent to do more than ‘better our instruction.’ Some judgment exercised in the selection of such agents, and some confidence exhibited in the objects of the choice, an outlay (sometimes) of a few pounds in procuring professional advice at the outset, and a little trouble in communicating proceedings to the local press and to the Liberation of Religion Society, are not, we should hope, exertions for the want of which our success is yet longer to remain in abeyance.

Brief Notices.

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The Warden. By Anthony Trollope. Post 8vo. pp. 336.
London: Longman & Co.

THERE is considerable talent displayed in this volume. It is visible in the delineation of character rather than in the construction of the plot.

The latter is meagre and unsatisfactory, wanting a moral, and failing to satisfy reasonable expectation; but the former is spirited and clever, frequently effecting by a few bold touches what a more elaborate description might fail to accomplish. 'The Warden' is concerned with the administration of one of the charitable trusts of our country, and brings out in striking relief the weak points of such administration, and the perplexities to which they give rise in the case of conscientious men. In 1434, John Hiram, a wool stapler, died at Barchester, leaving by his will his house and certain meadows near the town for the support of twelve superannuated wool-carders. An almshouse was to be built for them, with a fitting residence for a warden. The men were to receive sixteen-pence a day and the warden a corresponding salary. In the course of years the bequeathed property greatly rose in value, and, as often happens in such cases, the salary of the poor men remained stationary whilst that of the warden was largely increased. At the time when our story commences, the latter had £800 a year, whilst the old men continued to receive their sixteen-pence, with an additional two-pence, through the personal kindness of Mr. Harding, their warden. The race of wool-carders had long died out at Barchester, and the inmates of the almshouse were, therefore, selected from the hangers-on of the bishop and other ecclesiastics. Here was as good a case as could be desired for church reformers, and it was not long before a fitting one was found in the person of Mr. John Bold, a surgeon, with independent means. Legal measures are speedily instituted for a more equitable distribution of the finances of Hiram's hospital. The case engages public attention, eminent counsel are secured, and a leading newspaper, designated the 'Jupiter,' descants with great talent and much bitterness on the manifest abuses practised by the trustees and warden. The tale is complicated, of course, by a narrative of love; John Bold and Eleanor Harding, daughter of the warden, are sincerely attached to each other, and hence arises much of the interest and many of the perplexities of the volume. We shall not detail the incidents of the narrative. Those who wish to learn them will consult the volume itself. It is enough to say that in the sketch of the Bishop of Barchester and of his son, Dr. Grantly, as also in that of the feeble-minded but conscientious warden, much descriptive power is evinced. There is, however, one defect in the volume, which, in our judgment, mars the whole. A *moral* is wanting. To say nothing of the fact—in itself significant—that the views of the author on the subject of ecclesiastical revenue are not apparent, there is no fitting end attained by all which is done. The only result of the measures adopted by John Bold is to unsettle everything, and to make all parties miserable. The bishop, the dean, the warden, the bedesmen, John Bold himself, and the queen of his idolatry, are all perplexed and rendered wretched. The impression left, so far as it assumes any definite form, is that of regret at the affairs of the hospital having been brought into question. The facts of the case are sufficiently indicative of the inequitable arrangement maintained. But there is no indication of the better things that might have been done with the property bequeathed. Everything is left in disorder and ruin, as though the design of the

writer was to teach the folly of attempting to rectify abuses which have grown up under our charitable trusts. It would have been a better, a wiser, and certainly a more useful course, to have shown how such funds might have administered to the comfort and well-being of a much larger number of aged men.

A Journal of the Swedish Embassy in the Years 1653 and 1654.
Impartially written by the Ambassador Bulstrode Whitelocke.
First Published from the Original Manuscript by Charles Morton,
M.D., F.S.A. A new edition, revised by Henry Reeve, Esq., F.S.A.
In Two Volumes. Svo. pp. 451 and 468. London: Longman & Co.

WE have no very high opinion of Bulstrode Whitelocke. He was far from being one of the great men of his day. Whether compared with the Pym and Hampdens who led the early decisions of the Long Parliament, or with the Vanes and Sidneys of a later date, he sinks into a diminutive and somewhat contemptible figure. 'He was, in fact,' as the editor of the present work remarks, 'a timid and time-serving politician, who might have lived and died, in less agitated times, as a courtier, a crown lawyer, or the head of a college.' Though awakening personally little admiration, Whitelocke's position, and the services he rendered the State at a critical period of our history, render his movements matters of interest, and dispose us to make inquiries respecting him to which otherwise we should be disinclined. His 'Memorials' are known to every student of English history, but the work now before us is in our judgment far more interesting, and throws a light on some incidents, which is not the less acceptable from its relieving what would otherwise be total darkness. 'One of the chief merits,' says Mr. Reeve, 'of this record of his embassy appears to be its fidelity as a picture of the manners of the age, and especially of the remarkable persons who figure in its pages. Conversations of Cromwell, Queen Christina, and Oxenstiern, faithfully noted down by him to whom they were addressed, are memorials of no common interest.' Whitelocke was nominated to the Swedish embassy by Cromwell, with that sagacity which enabled him to read accurately the characters of men, and to choose for his emissaries those who were best fitted for the work to be done. He received his commission from the Speaker on the 29th October, 1653, sailed from Gravesend on the 6th of the following month, and arrived at Gothenburg on the 15th. Very soon after his departure Parliament resigned its power to Cromwell, who was immediately inaugurated as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth. The change thus effected in the form of the English Government did not interfere with Whitelocke's mission, who successfully negotiated an alliance between England and Sweden, was present at the resignation of Queen Christina, and returned to England in June, 1654. The *Journal* of his embassy was first printed in 1772, under the editorship of Dr. Morton, from a manuscript now in the British Museum, and the present edition does little more than modernize its orthography, and introduce an occasional emendation. 'Marginal notes have been added for the convenience of reference, and

the more important parts of the Appendix, selected by Dr. Morton from other manuscripts of Whitelocke, have been subjoined to the text.' The duties of an editor have been discharged by Mr. Reeve with propriety and good taste. Unlike many of his contemporaries, he is more concerned to bring his author than himself before the public. It is only where real service can be rendered that he speaks. His words are few and well chosen; and all intelligent readers will appreciate his abstinence, and feel grateful for it. Such a work, so edited, is eminently worthy of the patronage it seeks, and should be carefully read by those who wish to acquaint themselves with the foreign relations of England under the Protectorate of Cromwell.

History of Christian Churches and Sects, from the Earliest Ages of Christianity. By the Rev. J. B. Marsden, M.A. Parts I.—III. 3s. 6d. each. Svo. pp. 320. London: Richard Bentley.

WE have read this work—so far as it has yet proceeded—with very considerable pleasure, and hasten to recommend it to the notice and confidence of our readers. Mr. Marsden is already honorably known as the author of 'The History of the Early,' and of 'the Later Puritans,' two works which entitle him to very high rank amongst intelligent and candid historians. The period to which his attention was directed has been commonly the battle-field on which intolerance, bigotry, and class prejudices have been allowed to display themselves in full canonicals. The incumbent of St. Peter's, Birmingham, has, however, presented a spectacle as refreshing as it is unique. With slight exceptions he does justice to the virtues of the Puritans without denying their faults, and admits an honest censure to be passed on the men of his own party without portraying them as the personification of all conceivable faults. Our knowledge of his previous labors induced us to commence a perusal of the present work with large expectations, and we have not been disappointed. There is the same breadth of view; the same chastened judgment; deep earnestness combined with catholicity; justice to individuals in union with warm attachment to religious truth; patient investigation of evidence combined with a scrupulous adherence to what is deemed true. The work is published in monthly parts, each part consisting of seven sheets, and is designed to consist of eight, thus forming two volumes. Such a work, composed in the spirit and displaying the research and discrimination evinced by Mr. Marsden, will be a very valuable addition to our theological literature. It is quite distinct from other analogous works, and possesses advantages over them which will be instantly recognised by an intelligent reader. We have been specially gratified by the articles on 'The Episcopal Church of America,' 'The Anglo-Catholics,' 'The Brownists,' and 'The Church of England.' The last of these articles, commencing on page 169 of the second part, extends through the whole of the third part, and is not yet completed. There will be some difficulty, we fear, in keeping the work within the prescribed limits if the same scale be adopted in its subsequent portions. 'I have endeavoured,' says Mr. Marsden, 'to place myself in the situation of

a candid member of the church or sect whose story was before me, and to avoid distortion and false coloring. I have drawn my facts from the authors of each party, and have given their own version, unless it be when opponents have denied their accuracy. Where the matter is controverted, the statements on both sides are, in general, placed before the reader, and he is left to draw his own conclusions.'

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1. *The Poetical Works of Beattie, Blair, and Falconer.* Svo. pp. 298. With Lives, Critical Dissertation, and Explanatory Notes. By the Rev. George Gilfillan.
 2. *The Poetical Works of John Dryden.* Vol. I. pp. 314. By the Same. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

THE former of these volumes will be a great favorite with many readers. The poems which it contains have a strong hold on our sympathy, and though their popularity has appeared somewhat to decline of late years, we are satisfied that little is wanting to revive the interest with which they were formerly regarded. Indeed some passages in Beattie's 'Minstrel' and Blair's 'Grave' are cherished by our countrymen with a fondness which betokens great admiration. Beattie was formerly known as the author of the 'Essay on Truth,' but this is now merged in the higher claims of the 'Minstrel'—the descriptive powers, strong sentiments, and tender yearnings of which will never fail to interest a large class of readers. The author, in the words of Mr. Gilfillan, 'had many of the powers, all the virtues, and scarcely one of the faults generally supposed to be connected with the character, mind, and temperament, of a poet.'

The theme of Blair's poetry is remarkably distinct from what is reported to have been the temper of his mind. The one is gloomy, the other was almost uniformly cheerful and happy. The popularity of the 'Grave' was unbounded. The author rose rapidly into fame, and unlike most of his class, was not tempted by success to a second effort.

Of Falconer, less is known. When 'The Shipwreck' first appeared it was greatly overrated, and some most absurd comparisons were instituted between it and the 'Æneid' and 'Odyssey.' The usual result has followed. A reaction has taken place. What was once unduly magnified is now as unduly depreciated. The poem 'has in most of its descriptive passages a certain rugged strength and truth, which proves at once the perspicacity and the poetic vision of the author, who, while he sees all the minute details of his subject, sees also the glory of imagination shining around them.' Mr. Gilfillan's Introductions are brief and appropriate, somewhat more subdued, and if it be not heresy to say so, in better taste than some of his previous sketches. We thank him for supplying us with so admirable a volume, and repeat emphatically the recommendation, which, on frequent occasions, we have given to the series of which it forms part.

Having recently expressed at considerable length our judgment on Dryden's poetry, we shall do nothing more at present than record our opinion of Mr. Gilfillan's edition. The volume is printed in beautiful style, the notes appended are brief and apposite, and the preliminary

sketch of Dryden's life puts the reader in possession of the main incidents of his career. We, like Mr. Gilfillan, 'yield to none in admiration of the varied, highly cultured, masculine, and magnificent forces of Dryden's genius, but are painfully compelled to admit that his moral qualities were utterly unworthy of his intellectual endowments.

Voices of Many Waters; or, Travels in the Lands of the Tiber, the Jordan, and the Nile. With Notices of Asia Minor, Constantinople, Athens, &c. &c. 9s. By Rev. T. W. Aveling. London: Snow.

THE author of this volume has acquired distinction as a faithful preacher, a diligent pastor, and a judicious man. His health failed, and short seasons of relaxation were not sufficient to restore it. His medical adviser recommended him to avoid the 'severity of a northern winter by a sojourn in some of the more genial climates that are found on the shores of the Mediterranean.' This induced him to 'determine on a tour in the East.' From the time we heard of this determination, we anticipated that he would publish a volume soon after his return. The antecedents of Mr. Aveling induced us to expect that he would be minute in his observation of men and things; that he would perseveringly investigate evidence; and that he would be proof against the numerous impositions so often practised on Eastern travellers. Our expectations have been fully realized. We could, did our space allow, refer to several passages illustrative of the statements we have made; but one may suffice. On pages 337 and 338 he has most satisfactorily exploded the delusion indulged and practised by the Greek and Roman Christians in reference to the site of the Holy Sepulchre. His volume is written in a lucid, though rather ornate style. Judgment curbs imagination throughout. The love of the beautiful never allows the writer to forget the accurate lineaments of the true. We can cordially recommend this volume to confidence, assuring all who desire correct knowledge of the lands of the Bible, that it contains valuable information on which full reliance may be placed.

Rome, Regal and Republican. A Family History of Rome. By Jane Margaret Strickland. Edited by Agnes Strickland, Author of 'The Queens of England.' London: Hall, Virtue, & Co.

THIS volume is the first of a series, which, while exhibiting ancient Rome in all its stages of conquest, civilization, luxury, and decay, will also contain the early history of the Christian church;—the moral influence it exerted, and its lamentable declension from purity of doctrine and simplicity of practice. One peculiar feature in this scheme is the introduction of biographies of all the most distinguished historical characters both Heathen and Christian; and another is the elucidation of the fulfilment of Scripture prophecy in the great events of Roman history. The volume is occupied, as its title imports, with the first two eras of Rome; the shadowy and traditional age

in which the state was under the government of kings, and the longer and more properly historical period of a republican legislature and a consular executive. It extends from the foundation of Rome B.C. 753, to the fall of democracy with Caius Gracchus, B.C. 121. In defining her purpose Miss Strickland says, that her work being designed not only for the Family Library, but also for the great mass of the British people, 'to the unlearned portion of which the classic originals are unknown, much care has been taken to render the study of Roman history a source of pure and profitable information, deprived of all those pernicious details that render Heathen authors unfit for perusal.' The author, by giving her authorities at the foot of every page, shows her own close intimacy, not only with the classic originals, but with every distinguished modern writer in this grand department of history. Among the former the reader is referred to Livy, Florus, Plutarch, Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, Dionysius, Polybius, and others, and of the latter to Niebuhr, Arnold, Hooke, and Échard.

Miss Strickland has performed her task in a manner in all respects highly creditable. Her style is pure, vivid, and attractive, and there is about her narratives a dramatic and anecdotal liveliness which adds to the value of an historic record the interest of a work of fiction. The untiring story of the Punic wars is told with much beauty and effect, and indeed throughout the volume she has succeeded in relieving the tedium of incessant military detail with a certain tact and taste almost peculiar to the female pen.

The British Commonwealth; or, a Commentary on the Institutions and Principles of British Government. By Homersham Cox, M.A.
London: Longman & Co.

As a Celtic pedigree maker tracing the lineage of some illustrious Ap or O' or Mac, begins with Noah, if not with Adam, so does Mr. Homersham Cox, our latest commentator on the constitution of Britain, carry up his inquiries to the beginning of the world. Arriving in time at the homely subject of discourse, he begins, not like common men, at the beginning but at the end thereof; taking not the parts constituent but the constituted, he finally gains a bird's-eye view of things in general.

Mr. Cox has earned a reputation in the mathematics which he will certainly never deserve in the literature of the constitution if he rests his fame on the present shallow compilation of commonplaces. Learning the book has none, although there is some display of miscellaneous reading. Beyond Crown, Lords, and Commons, the author sees but a very little way. What, indeed, could be expected in an explanation of the constitution which does not proceed historically. Mr. Cox has only collected a variety of notes on existing institutions, interspersed with remarks on divers 'questions of the day,' which denote good intention and something of liberal sentiment, but which are neither very lively nor new.

Divested of the speculation, the exposition would be a most meagre book, as much wanting in clearness of statement as in knowledge. If

intended as a text book, why such a jumble of the accidental with the essential as this. 'The eldest son of a peer enjoying a barony, and a superior title, is sometimes called to the House of Peers in his father's barony; this is not the creation of a new dignity, but merely in anticipation of the son's possession.' Unless Mr. Cox imagines an indignity, we should humbly hold the dignity new; but why circumlocution, when the thing to be stated was simply that the crown may make a peer of a peer's son, as of any meaner clay? Reading Mr. Cox in his explanatory pages, one must sigh with the poet—

'I wish he would explain his explanation.'

The want of knowledge or penetration we have noted will be at once observed by turning to the few pages descriptive of local institutions. Here there is much less even than a bird's-eye view of things. When a commentator condescends to notice a parish vestry, he might surely have found something to say on that not remote constitutional decision of the House of Lords, which may possibly for the future prevent parish rectors with despotic tastes from trampling down Magna Charta whenever a church-rate is to be imposed. Mr. Cox does not, it is true, omit to notice that there is an institution called trial by jury; but he has very little to say for it, and that by passing extract from De Lolme. In short, his Commentary altogether is a very flimsy performance, which will neither inform the ignorant nor edify those who are read in constitutional comments.

Σπυριδῶνος Τρικούπη Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπαναστάσεως. Τομ. α καὶ β. ἐν Λονδίῳ αὐγ' καὶ αὐγ'. (The History of the Greek Revolution. By Spuridon Tricoupi. Vols. I. and II. London. 1853 and 1854.)

THE author of these two volumes, Spuridon Tricoupi, is Greek Minister in England. Before he left his country, his literary productions had gained him a name; and his present work will stamp him as a historian not unworthy to sit amongst the great Greek writers of old. At present we merely wish to draw attention to these volumes, not to discuss them. The language (modern Greek) is so pure that a good Greek scholar can easily read them; and the matter is such, that it will interest every man possessed of a heart. Of course Mr. Tricoupi's work shows strong national sympathies, and we should be cautious in assuming his view of occurrences. Yet he is, on the whole, remarkably candid; he evidently wishes to tell the truth, whether it be for or against Greece; and if he sometimes unconsciously presses down the balance in favour of the Greeks, every patriot will excuse him, and not think the less of him. We believe that the history will be finished in two other volumes, soon to appear.

Die Philosophie des Plotin. Von Carl Hermann Kirchner, Dr. Ph. (The Philosophy of Plotinus. By Carl Kirchner.) Halle. 1854. THERE can be little doubt that Plotinus stands at the head of Neo-Platonic writers. It was he who thoroughly developed the Neo-

Platonic system, and his 'Æneads' contain the healthiest, most thorough, and most profound exhibition of its doctrines. These books, however, are accessible only to few, and owing to their difficulty demand a vast amount of learning, patience, and time for their comprehension. It is, therefore, with pleasure that we introduce Carl Hermann's book to the notice of the public. It contains an excellent and thorough explanation of the philosophy of Plotinus, written in a clear and manly style, and with succinct chapters on Ammonius, his predecessor, and on the development of Neo-Platonism subsequent to his death. Carl Hermann is a young man of great promise, and we doubt not we shall soon hear much more of him in the walks of philosophy. This scholarly volume, full of patient research and thoughtfulness, is a good introduction.

Griechische Mythologie. Von Eduard Gerhard, Ord. Prof. an d. Univ. zu Berlin. *Erster Theil: Die Griechischen Gottheiten.* Berlin: Reimer. 1854. (Greek Mythology. By Eduard Gerhard, Ordinary Professor in the University of Berlin. Part First: the Greek Divinities.)

THE name of Gerhard is well known to all philologists. His works connected with archaeological art and his archaeological journal have given him a place among the very first of scholars. The present work is evidently the result of long study, of years of patient examination and collection, and will, we have no doubt, form a standard book in its way. It is very dryly written, and the learned pedantic style is decidedly repelling; but the philologist, for whom alone it is written, will find in it a storehouse of facts and hints. We have, in the present volume, only the first instalment, containing an introduction, in which he develops his mythological principles, and two books—the first on the systems of the gods, and the second on the Greek divinities. There are many points in his speculations that might be disputed, and it would be easy to find faults here and there; but we agree thoroughly with his own motto, 'One will more easily blame than imitate.' He deserves especial praise in tracing the geographical origin and movements of the ideas of the gods and their intermixture one with the other, and also for the light thrown on mythology by vases and other remains of art. The scholarship of the book is immense, scarcely a work on the subject having escaped the study of Professor Gerhard.

Idyls and Songs. By Francis Turner Palgrave. London: John W. Parker & Son.

THIS volume is inscribed, in graceful and reverent verse, to Alfred Tennyson,

'A soul in friendship and in song,
Proved pure and brave and loyal,'

and it is impossible to read many of its pages without perceiving that the gifted author has reaped the natural results of sympathetic admiration. That Mr. Palgrave is a true poet is a point that, with all due

diffidence, we think established. Not profound as some, nor brilliant as others, there are yet in his effusions much beauty, freedom, and force. If we sometimes desiderate a deeper insight into the scenes and sentiments that inspire his muse, and wish that so fluent a verse were the garb and vehicle of more vigorous thought, yet we meet with many exquisite pictures of life and utterances of feeling. The author is most at home, in our humble judgment, with the beautiful and the tender, and on subjects of this kind we would rather listen to him than to a dozen of the common run of even respectable poets.

The Doctrines of the Bible developed in the Facts of the Bible.
With an Appendix, containing a Catechism in each section, for the use of Families, Scripture Classes, and Schools. By the Rev. George Lewis. pp. 428. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable & Co.

ONE of the most healthful and striking features of the theological literature of the present day is the great attention that is being paid to the *historical* form of divine revelation. It has not always been sufficiently considered that God has put his truth nearly altogether into the form of history of some kind, and the reasons of his doing so have not been duly appreciated. We rejoice greatly in the present direction of the theological mind, assured that a diligent following out of God's plan, in this respect, must yield rich results in the better knowledge and realization of God's truth.

Mr. Lewis has, in the volume before us, made an intelligent contribution to the historical development of doctrinal truth. He has not exhausted the subject, nor treated it so as to meet the exigencies of the most advanced minds; but he has a true idea for his guidance, and he brings a large amount of sober-thinking and diligent investigation to the illustration and defence of the leading principles of Christian faith. The work will be read with great advantage by many, and may serve an important purpose as a text-book in the hands of those who have the instruction and training of youthful intellects. We cordially recommend it for its solid excellence.

The Emphatic New Testament, according to the Authorized Version, compared with the Various Readings of the Vatican Manuscript.
Edited, with an Introductory Essay on Greek Emphasis, by John Taylor, Author of 'Junius Identified.' London: Taylor & Co.

THE accomplished editor of this handsome volume, in the hope that he may materially assist inquirers after truth, in their study of the Sacred Writings, by the restoration of the most ancient text, proposes to give prominence to those words in the English version which explain the prominent words in the Greek. The idea is new to us, and Mr. Taylor has completely carried out his design in a volume which is a beautiful specimen of English typography. The body of the work is suitably prefaced by several pages of 'Rules for the Conversion of Greek Emphasis into English Equivalents;' of examples of the effect of emphasis on 'Certain Titles;' and of a short but excellent

dissertation, on 'The Antiquity and Authority of the Vatican Manuscript.' The volume is well worthy the attention of biblical students, and, indeed, of all who receive the comment of the admirable Bishop Newton on that passage of St. John, which we quote according to his interpretation of it,—'Believe not every *doctrine*, but try the *doctrines*, whether they are of God.' Mr. Taylor is already so well known by his works on the Currency, and on divers questions of Political Economy, and by his larger work on the identification of 'Junius,' as to require no introduction from us to the thoughtful and studious portions of the community. We shall be happy to welcome his proposed continuation of the Emphatic New Testament to the Apocalypse; and the edition of the 'Vatican Greek Testament,' which, we hear, he has in preparation.

The Prophet's Vision, and other Poems. By Charles T. Browne, Author of 'Irene,' &c. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.

THE Papal Aggression, which urged the statesman to a counter-active legislation, the journalist to indite wrathful leaders, and the orator to the noisy platform, impelled Mr. Browne to the composition of a poem. 'Astrello' betokens considerable power in the author, and a chaste and well-furnished mind. We admire his intention, which was to serve the cause of freedom and truth; but we doubt whether he would not have done so more effectively and lastingly in prose than in poetry. As a general remark, not intended to affect this meritorious production of a glowing imagination, we are convinced that nearly all our modern and younger poets compose too rapidly. Moore confessed that he was engaged, during a long day, in the construction of a single line,—

'And threat to sweep away our shrines of pride.'

But our younger poets, in many instances, produce too fast. As in sculpture, a hasty chisel may increase the ugliness of a gorgon, while it cannot produce the life-like beauty of the Belvidere; so in poetry, rapidity of composition produces much metrical expression; but not

'The thoughts that breathe, the words that burn.'

The Muses coin slowly, but their issue is purest gold!

Essay on Human Happiness. By C. B. Adderley, M.P. Second edition, pp. 96. London: Blackader & Co. 1854.

THIS essay is 'preliminary' to a series of small works on 'Great Truths for Thoughtful Hours,' of which the subject of each will be some important topic worthy of consideration by the earnest and the wise. The writer defines happiness to be 'a state of constant adaptation of action to right intention'—an inherence, not an option—a natural result, not an arbitrary reward—distinguished from *peace*, satisfaction, pleasure, and prosperity. From this definition he infers that future happiness and reverses are *consequences*, not *awards*—that the corruption of our minds has placed happiness in the negation of *natural* inclinations—that *idleness* is condemned, as productive of the

very opposite of happiness—that *luxury* is worse even than idleness—that living for pleasure is forsaking the design of our being—that ‘our rest must be no rest below,’ and that the exercises of life, our general line of action alone—the constant acting out of our proper destiny—tends to happiness. This ‘destiny’ is—to recover lost perfection in an entire conformity to the will of God—the laws and ideas of our own creation. Progress in this voluntary obedience is ascertained by tests, and secured by means, which are unfolded in several brief chapters, clearly and elegantly expressed. Conformity to God’s will is represented to be ‘as much the end and office of our being as it is the end and office of the sun to shine by day.’ The application of the general intention to the particular occupations of various lines of life is reserved for another ‘lay sermon,’ which we shall be glad to read, as we are thankful for having read this.

The Handbook of China. Being a Concise Manual of the Ancient History, Scientific Discoveries, Present Condition, and Future Prospects of that country. With a succinct account of the rise and progress of the pending Revolution in China; and notices of the past and present efforts made for the spread of the Gospel in that vast Empire. By Richard Ball, one of the Secretaries of the Chinese Evangelization Society. London: Nisbet & Co. 1854.

THIS is a small book on a great subject—a subject, too, which in the present day occupies more or less the thoughts of most intelligent people; and is likely, from the extraordinary position of affairs in the Celestial Empire, to become increasingly interesting to all classes of the community. We have perused it with pleasure, and can give it our cordial recommendation, as eminently fitted to impart sound and valuable information on a subject of high importance. The most striking characteristic of the book is the large amount of knowledge which Mr. Ball has managed to compress into a shilling volume. There is hardly a topic of interest or importance in connexion with the people, the institutions, or the country of China, which the reader will not find here treated. The book displays, too, considerable industry and research.

From a sense of critical justice, however, we cannot omit to mention one serious defect in the volume, namely, the want of methodical arrangement. This is particularly to be regretted in a work which professes to be a ‘Handbook,’ or book of reference. In the event of a second edition, we suggest that the valuable materials which Mr. Ball has collected together be re-arranged, and the book divided into chapters. A brief index too, or table of contents, would be a valuable addition.

Miscellanies, Critical, Imaginative, and Juridical, contributed to Blackwood’s Magazine. By Samuel Warren. In Two Volumes. Post 8vo. 24s. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons.

THE success which has attended the republications from the ‘Edinburgh Review’ has set an example which we are glad to see followed

by the publishers of other periodicals. It has long been matter of regret that so large an amount of scholarship, philosophy, and light literature, as our periodical journals contain, should pass so rapidly into oblivion. This evil is now in the way of correction. It is a healthful sign; and if due limits be observed it cannot fail to enrich our literature. Dr. Warren, the author of the present volumes, became first known to the public by 'Passages from the Diary of a late Physician,' and his fame has since been widened by the publication of some works of fiction, displaying considerable ability in combination with sound judgment and a high moral standard. He is, therefore, one of the recognised authors of the day, and as such is entitled at all times to very respectful attention. The present volumes consist of articles contributed, with very slight exception, to 'Blackwood's Magazine.' Most of them, we are informed, 'were originally written with a view to subsequent separate publication; and some have cost the author great pains, alike in the writing and revision.' The papers included are very various, and consist of tales, critical memoirs, poetry, reviews, and legal disquisitions. Together they constitute most agreeable and instructive reading, and may be advantageously substituted for many of the works which obtain extensive popularity.

The Annotated Paragraph Bible. Containing the Old and New Testaments according to the Authorized Version. Arranged in Paragraphs and Parallelisms. With Explanatory Notes, Prefaces to the Several Books, and an Entirely New Selection of References to Parallel and Illustrative Passages, Maps, Tables, &c. Royal 8vo. Part IV. The Prophetical Books, 4s. London: The Religious Tract Society.

WE have much pleasure in introducing again this work to our readers. The Parts already issued have had our warm commendation, and we feel no disposition to speak less highly of the one before us. The pervading principle of the work is indicated in its title. No attentive reader of the Bible can fail to perceive the injury done to many of its parts by the artificial divisions introduced. These divisions are, in some cases, clearly opposed to the course of the author's reasoning or narrative, and must therefore tend in the same degree to obscure his meaning, and to prevent the ready apprehension of his course of thought. This evil is obviated in the *Paragraph Bible*, which is further enriched by a large body of illustrative notes that display extensive reading, sound discrimination, and a nice appreciation of the peculiarities of ancient Jewish life. Each of the prophetic books is introduced by a brief preface, which sketches the life of the author, and furnishes an analysis of his writings. A short narrative of Jewish history during the period intervening between the two Testaments is also given. Altogether the work is entitled to very considerable praise, and will form a valuable addition to the library of every intelligent Christian.

School Series. Edited by the Rev. G. R. Gleig, M.A.

1. *Experimental Chemistry.* By Thomas Tate, F.R.A.S. pp. 102.
 2. *Magnetism, Voltaic Electricity, and Electro Dynamics.* By Thomas Tate, F.R.A.S. pp. 106.
 3. *Light and Heat.* By Thomas Tate, F.R.A.S. pp. 182.
 4. *My Second School Book.* By W. M'Leod, F.R.G.S. pp. 145.
- London: Longman & Co.

IN this series we have not only guides to reading and spelling, but also to the higher branches of science, treated of course in a popular manner. The principles involved are very clearly explained and illustrated by a variety of pleasing experiments. The design is well carried out, and deserves success. It is only when such books as the above are within the reach of all classes that one can hope to find intelligence and education general.

The Science of Arithmetic. By James Cornwell, Ph.D., and Joshua G. Fitch, M.A. pp. 348. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.

THE authors have attempted, and we think succeeded, in producing a book especially adapted for schools where the highest branches of mathematical science are not yet studied. It is well fitted to supply a void in many of our day-schools. The student is led to think and reason on every step he takes. We quite agree with the authors, 'that to degrade arithmetic into a mere routine of mechanical devices for working sums, is, even in a school for young children, to commit as grave and mischievous a mistake, as if our university professors were to permit the rules of mensuration to supersede the study of Euclid.'

The course is very comprehensive, being calculated to render a student competent to pass with credit the ordinary examination for the degree of B.A. at either of the universities.

Essays Selected from Contributions to the Edinburgh Review. By Henry Rogers. Vol. III. 8vo. pp. 388. 12s. London: Longman & Co.—In our notice last month of Mr. Rogers' 'Contributions to the Edinburgh Review' we reported that the new papers contained in this edition were printed in a separate volume for the benefit of those who possessed the first. This volume is now before us, uniform in all respects with the two previously published. The five papers which it contains are distinguished by the usual qualities of Mr. Rogers' writings, and will be heartily welcomed by a numerous class. If less distinguished by brilliancy than some other volumes of the same class, they are ennobled by very high attri-

butes, and will long retain an honorable position in English literature.

Theological Tendencies of the Age. An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at the Opening of St. Mary's College on the 28th November, 1854. By the Rev. J. Tulloch, D.D. 1s. 8vo. pp. 34. Edinburgh: Paton & Ritchie.—An admirable lecture, which merits and will well repay attentive perusal. Dr. Tulloch's recent appointment as Principal and Theological Professor at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, afforded an appropriate occasion for enlarging on the theological tendencies of the age. Of this opportunity he has judiciously availed himself in the lecture before us, in which 'a rapid and general view of the various schools of theological

thought, on whose distracting conflict so many hearts are now fixed,' is taken. Dr. Tulloch classifies the theological tendencies of the age into traditionalism, rationalism, and that genuine theological spirit which combines due respect for the past and freedom of inquiry with devout reference to Scripture as the ultimate standard of appeal. We have seldom read a lecture with such entire approval, and very cordially recommend it to all those who are engaged in the exposition and enforcement of religious truth.

Scripture Lessons for my Infant Class. By M. W. Norwich: Fletcher & Alexander.—'These simple questions,' the author tells us, 'were compiled for the use of a small infant school, from the conviction that children of the tenderest years are able to understand the vital truths of Scripture.' They are well suited to their proposed object, but the pictorial illustrations introduced are not to our mind. The *exaggeration* by which some of them are marked is pernicious rather than otherwise. We are not unaware of the plea that is urged on behalf of such, but are strongly inclined to doubt the expediency of corrupting the taste in order to deepen the moral impression made on the young.

Detached Thoughts and Apophthegms. Extracted from some of the writings of Archbishop Whately. Fcap. 8vo. pp. 187. London: Blackader & Co.—A judicious and very valuable selection from the writings of one of the clearest and most cogent reasoners of the day. The severity of Archbishop Whately's logic is universally admired, and the study of his writings is one of the best mental exercises which a young intellect can undertake. His works abound with the elements of thought; and this small volume furnishes a rich storehouse of apophthegms, distinguished alike by practical wisdom and deep philosophy.

The Quiet Heart. By the Author of 'Katie Stewart.' Second Edition. 12mo. pp. 320. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons.—We scarcely expected a second edition of this work, as it does not abound in the

elements of popularity. The narrative is simple. The characters introduced are not distinguished by any very striking features, and the general result is such as every intelligent reader must have anticipated. The tone of the volume is unexceptionable, and Menie Laurie is just one of those heroines in whom all novelists delight, and whom it is comparatively easy to sketch.

Christianity in Turkey. Correspondence of the Governments of Christendom, relating to Executions in Turkey, for Apostacy from Islamism. With a Letter from Sir Culling E. Eardley, Bart., to M. George Fisch, Pasteur; and the Reply of the Lyons Committee. 8vo. pp. 48. London: Partridge, Oakey, & Co.—The publication of this pamphlet is well-timed. It is specially appropriate just now, and holds out to the Christian subjects of Turkey the prospect of a future far brighter and more hopeful than anything they have yet known. We are grateful to Sir Culling E. Eardley for the labor he has expended in bringing this subject before his countrymen, and most cordially bid him God speed.

Augustin. The Happy Child. From the French of Madame Clara Monnerod. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable & Co.—A translation from the French, which reads with the ease and fluency of an original. The work is happily conceived, and possesses large attractions for juvenile readers, and indeed for those of more mature years. Its tone is thoroughly unexceptionable; its sentiments are evangelical; and the order of talent it exhibits is highly creditable. A more pleasing companion for the young it would be difficult to find.

A Scripture Gazetteer; containing an account of all the places mentioned in the New Testament. By B. H. Cowper. Fcap. 8vo. pp. 101. London: John Snow.—This small volume has originated in a want felt by Mr. Cowper in the course of his own reading and studies. Having experienced the inconvenience of not possessing a compendious manual of reference to the various places mentioned in the Scriptures, he has been induced to supply

the deficiency. His aim 'has been to put in the smallest compass, and in the clearest light, such facts as it appears to him Scripture readers should be acquainted with.' His object has been happily attained. Completeness of information, combined with brevity, is the distinguishing feature of his volume, which, if appreciated by the public, will speedily be followed by another on the Old Testament.

A Text Book of Zoology: for Schools. By Philip Henry Gosse, A.L.S. 12mo. pp. 450. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.—We are sorry that this volume has so long escaped our notice. The omission has been wholly unintentional. Mr. Gosse is evidently well furnished for the work he has undertaken, and his 'Text Book' admirably suited to its proposed object, and well entitled to the confidence it claims. It is the production of a full man, and as such we cordially recommend it.

Nulamerk: a Tale of the Nestorians. By Mrs. J. B. Webb. pp. 489. 2s. London: Clarke & Beeton.—This work has been known to the public for several years, and is designed to excite amongst our countrymen a warmer interest in the people of whom it treats. The present cheap edition is printed in a neat and readable style, and its circulation will exert a beneficial influence over a large class of travellers, for whom it has been prepared. Mrs. Webb possesses many qualities well suited to the department of religious fiction, and in the tale before us these are brought out with distinctness and good effect.

Select Works of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D. Edited by his Son-in-Law, the Rev. W. Hanna, LL.D. Vol. III. Post 8vo. pp. 680. Edinburgh: Constable & Co.—This volume constitutes the first of the cheap republication of Dr. Chalmers' Sermons. It is intended to be followed by another, and the two will contain all the sermons published by him, and also the Discourse on Isaiah vii. 3-5, which was printed after his death. The present volume contains the Astronomical and Commercial Discourses, with thirteen

Sermons on Public Occasions, and six under the title of the Two Kingdoms. We need not add one word of commendation to the series to which the volume belongs.

Words by the Wayside; or, the Children and the Flowers. By Emily Ayton. With Illustrations, by H. Anelay. London: Grant & Griffith.—A volume which combines, in an unwonted degree the instructive and the pleasing. Young readers cannot fail to be interested in it, and those of more advanced years may learn much from its pages. The manner in which Miss Vaughan awakens and directs the curiosity of her young charge is illustrative of a general law from which the largest benefit proceeds. There are ample objects of instruction around us. The great thing is to awaken inquiry, and to give it a useful direction.

The Stepping-stone to Animal and Vegetable Physiology. By Mary Shield. pp. 90. London: Longman & Co. This is a series of conversations between a mother and her children, in the course of which a considerable amount of information is given in a pleasing manner.

The Rev. J. Parker discusses *Secularism* in 'six chapters' (W. Freeman) with intelligence and point.—An *Inquiry respecting the Church of Christ*, by Thomas Hughes Milner (Edinburgh: J. Taylor), is 'but a preliminary step to the advocacy of an unqualified return to the Christianity of the New Testament.'—*Hints on Study*, by Rev. Thomas Lightbody, of Sheffield, New Brunswick (Ward & Co.), is full of wise counsel and illustrative anecdote.—In *Political Sketches: Twelve Chapters on the Struggles of the Age*, Dr. Carl Retslag, late Professor of Philosophy in the University of Rostock (Theobald), brings a sagacious mind to the interpretation of the state and recent history of Europe, and makes a vigorous assertion of important principles.—*The Morning Land: a Family and Jewish History*, by the author of 'Leila Ada,' and 'Leila's Diary' (Wertheim and Mackintosh), is an interesting and a pathetic sequel to those charming publications.

Review of the Month.

THE DIVISION ON MR. ROEBUCK'S MOTION SEALED THE FATE OF THE ABERDEEN CABINET. This had been foreseen from the moment that the honorable member for Sheffield gave his notice. A majority in favor of the motion was confidently anticipated, but none expected it to be so overwhelming. It was probably increased by Lord John Russell's resignation, but the committee moved for would undoubtedly have been resolved on though the noble lord had continued to lead the ministerial phalanx. While a large majority was all but universally looked for, some members of the Cabinet were so grossly ignorant of the state of public feeling as to calculate on a favorable decision. This was the case we know only two or three days before the 29th January. The Government regarded the motion as one of censure, and avowed their determination to resign if it were carried. In the face of such declaration, however, and notwithstanding the deeply critical state of our public affairs, the division which took place is almost unprecedented in our parliamentary history, the numbers being (tellers included) 307 for the motion, and 150 against it. An analysis of this division brings out some significant points to which it is desirable that public attention should be given. In the following, which we take from the registry of the National Parliamentary Reform Association, our readers will specially note the much larger proportion of county than of borough members who voted for the inquiry—

| | | For. | Against. |
|------------------|-------------------|------|----------|
| County Members— | England and Wales | 95 | 18 |
| " | Scotch | 8 | 9 |
| " | Irish | 24 | 7 |
| University " | | 1 | 4 |
| Borough Members— | England and Wales | 163 | 97 |
| " | Scotch | 6 | 7 |
| " | Irish | 9 | 8 |
| | | 307 | 150 |

Regarded from another point of view the division furnishes the following facts which it is important to keep in mind—

| | For. | Against. |
|--------------------------------------|------|----------|
| Connected with the peerage | 72 | 53 |
| Holding office | — | 27 |
| In the army | 36 | 11 |
| In the navy | 8 | 1 |

The minority included many thorough liberals, amongst whom were several who are known as the special supporters of religious liberty. Messrs. Barnes, Brotherton, Cheetham, Crossley, Kershaw, Milligan, and Pilkington, are of this number. A few

of these gentlemen were probably influenced by an unwillingness to embarrass the ministry, but the majority, we apprehend, were swayed by hostility to the war—a view of the question which has been extensively adopted by the Lancashire and Yorkshire men. Neither Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, nor Mr. Milner Gibson, voted on the occasion. The debate was distinguished by some points of very considerable interest, amongst which we rank the speech of Mr. Bernal Osborne, who, anticipating apparently the termination of his official career, addressed himself to the constituency of Middlesex in a trenchant style which recalls the memory of his more unfettered days. ‘You must see,’ said the honorable member, ‘whether you can find a modern Hercules to turn the Serpentine through the Horse Guards, and all the ramifications of the War Office. . . . In England, every one knows that it is not merit and capacity for which an officer is appointed to the staff, but interest and connexion. . . . How can you possibly have a succession of generals when the first thing you do is to debar any man who has any peculiar talent for command from entering your army unless he can lodge a large sum of money and purchase every step? The regulation price—and no man gets it for the regulation price—of the commission of a lieutenant-colonel of cavalry is £6175. I have known instances in which £15,000 have been so expended. The regulation price for the commission of a lieutenant-colonel of infantry is £4500. How is it possible, then, that any but a rich man can enter the army?’ Such statements coming from the treasury benches, even though delivered at the eleventh hour, are highly significant and full of promise. Mr. Osborne would scarcely have ventured to utter them if he had not felt that they were in harmony with public feeling, and would strengthen his hold on the sympathies and support of his constituents.

At an early hour on the following morning (31st January) a Cabinet Council was held, after which Lord Aberdeen proceeded to Windsor to tender to her Majesty the resignation of his Cabinet. The Queen, acting on former precedents, immediately sent for Lord Derby as leader of the largest section of the majority, and entrusted him with the formation of an administration. His lordship forthwith called on Lord Palmerston, and solicited his co-operation together with that of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Sidney Herbert, and on the overture not being accepted, he returned to her Majesty the powers with which she had entrusted him.

That Lord Derby was wise in soliciting such aid we admit, but for very shame Mr. Disraeli and the Tory journals must cease to declaim, as they have recently been accustomed to do, against coalitions. Had the conservatism of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli been what their followers imagine, they would never have sought such an alliance: but their principles are evidently of that plastic order which readily adapt themselves to the requirements of the hour. Lord Lansdowne was next consulted by the Queen, and on his advice Lord John Russell was empowered to form a government. His lordship, however, speedily ascertained that it was impracticable for him to do so, and the Queen then sent for Lord Palmerston, who ultimately presented

to her Majesty and the country a re-construction, with very slight additions, of the Aberdeen Cabinet. Sir George Grey was moved from the Colonial to the Home office, Mr. Sidney Herbert from the Secretaryship at War to that of the Colonies, Earl Granville from the Duchy of Lancaster to the Presidentship of the Council, and Lord Panmure became Minister for War. Lord Cranworth, the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Clarendon, Mr. Gladstone, Viscount Canning, Sir Charles Wood, Sir William Molesworth, Mr. C. P. Villiers, and others retained their previous appointments: whilst Viscount Canning was introduced to the Cabinet, a seat at which was also, of course, conceded to the Minister for War. Such was the arrangement announced by Lord Palmerston on the 16th, and in a brief statement of the negotiations in which he had been engaged, and of the policy which he proposed to adopt, he endeavored to ingratiate himself with the House. Our readers need not be informed that we never had much faith in Lord Palmerston as a politician, and we are not, therefore, surprised that his exposition did not meet the expectations of the country, nor satisfy the urgent demand for inquiry. There is too much of cliquism and too little of masculine feeling and of 'John Bull' earnestness in his lordship to meet the present crisis.

Still his lordship's Cabinet must not be confounded with that of its predecessor. He himself has far more activity, and is disposed to push the war with greater vigor and effect than Lord Aberdeen, and his Minister for War, though not all we could wish, has the advantage of experience and firmness of character over the Duke of Newcastle. Under ordinary circumstances, we should deem the change material, and anticipate from it much good, but in the fearful crisis at which we have arrived, it does not appear to us equal to the occasion, or likely to carry through the changes on which the nation is set. The measures projected, and of which his lordship gave intimation on the 16th, are considerably in advance of the former government, but they do not go far enough, nor strike sufficiently deep. The disgracefully inefficient state of our various departments, and the more than suspected incapacity of some who occupy influential posts, will never be remedied but by a stern and unrelenting policy which knows no favor and will show no mercy. We regard the Duke of Newcastle as the victim of a vicious system which has grown up into fearful magnitude, and is now producing such terrible disasters. His Grace is to be pitied rather than condemned. From all we have heard, we believe that no one of his colleagues has been more assiduous in attention to the duties of his department, or more anxious to contribute to the safety and comfort of our gallant troops in the Crimea.

And here it will not be inappropriate to add a word respecting Lord John Russell. He has been assailed by a torrent of abuse. Charges of the worst kind have been preferred against him. Treachery and selfishness are alleged as the main spring of his recent conduct. He has been counselled to retire from public life, since his reputation and therefore his power of usefulness is gone. Now we are no worshippers of Lord John Russell. We have again and again expressed our judgment on his short-comings, yet we must protest against the gross injustice now done

him. We believe that his lordship committed an error in not persisting in his resignation when the Premier declined to substitute Lord Palmerston for the Duke of Newcastle. We said this last month, and are glad to find that his lordship agrees with us. The explanations of the Duke of Newcastle in the Lords, and of Mr. Gladstone in the Commons, certainly leave an unfavorable impression respecting the ex-President of the Council, which the adroitness and skill of his lordship fail to remove. It was due to his colleagues that they should know his views on so leading a point, and every fair means should have been taken to ascertain whether their concurrence might not be secured. This, however, his lordship did not do, and failing this, he has laid himself open to suspicion of the worst kind. His position was in consequence a false one, and when at length he stood face to face with Mr. Roebuck, we can readily understand his coming to the conclusion that there was no other safe or honorable course for him but to resign. To have opposed the motion for inquiry would have been dishonest in the last degree, whilst to resign office inevitably exposed him to misconception of a serious and damaging order. His lordship has done much to consolidate the Coalition Cabinet, and the fear of its dissolution probably retained him in his place until he felt that personal as well as official integrity was perilled. When this was the case, such a man—whatever his enemies may allege—would not hesitate a moment. Before dismissing this topic we must add, that while we regret the noble lord's resignation was not tendered earlier, we cannot avoid the impression that it was hastily, and with apparent pleasure, received. There is something more here than meets the eye, and we wait in hope of future explanation.

Lord Russell's Vienna mission is a wise step. It carries with it the confidence and approval of the country, indicating the harmony which subsists between himself and the Premier, and assuring us that the honor of England will be faithfully maintained in the negotiations which are being carried on. Our past diplomacy has covered us with shame. Let us hope that some improvement will be visible in the consultations in which his lordship takes part.

MR. ROEBUCK'S MOTION HAS BEEN PRODUCTIVE OF A SECOND MINISTERIAL CRISIS. Parliament re-assembled on the 16th, and the new Premier did his utmost to induce the Commons to forego the inquiry on which they had resolved. 'It would be useless,' he said, 'to dissemble the difficulty which meets us and stares us in the face, from the notice of motion which my hon. and learned friend has given for Thursday next;' and he then proceeded with singular infelicity to illustrate the position of the Government and the Commons by referring to the case of Richard II. and Wat Tyler. 'If the House of Commons,' said his lordship, with marvellous effrontery, 'will now forego this committee, the Government will be your committee, and we will leave you to judge, by the results of our efforts, whether you will be satisfied with the inquiries and improvements we make, or whether you will afterwards choose to institute a somewhat more formal and parliamentary investigation of your own.' The full significancy of this language was not at the time understood. Neither the House nor the country ima-

gined that the existence of the Cabinet depended on the decision taken. Men who had retained office after such an unmistakeable indication of the judgment of Parliament, were not expected to relinquish it on the inquiry being persisted in. They could not plead ignorance or doubt. The majority in favor of inquiry had been more than two to one. They were, therefore, apprized of what was imminent before acceding to Lord Palmerston's proposals, and ought *then* to have declined if they deemed inquiry inconsistent with their duty to their former chief and coadjutor. Mr. Herbert moreover had distinctly admitted, on the Wiltshire hustings, the necessity for inquiry. But notwithstanding this, three of the Cabinet, Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, tendered their resignation, with the full knowledge that by doing so they might seriously damage public affairs, and prevent the immediate adoption of measures absolutely needful to the triumph, if not to the safety, of our army in the Crimea. The 'Daily News,' of the 23d, intimates that the Peelite members of the Cabinet, before consenting to retain their posts, obtained from Lord Palmerston a pledge to oppose Mr. Roebuck's motion even to a dissolution, but nothing of this kind appears in the explanations which were given by the seceding members on the evening of that day. On the contrary, it was distinctly repudiated by Mr. Gladstone in reply to the insinuations of Mr. Disraeli. 'I am quite sure,' said the ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'I never stated that my noble friend told me he formed his Government on the basis of resisting this committee, or that I asked for any stipulation from him on that subject. It was never made the subject of stipulation at all. I never mentioned it to my noble friend until I had written and acquainted him that after the communication that we had had respecting foreign policy I was ready, if he desired, to accept office in his Government.' Sir George Grey confirmed this statement. 'I feel bound,' he said, 'emphatically to deny, so far as I am concerned, and so far as any information has reached me, that my noble friend's Government was based on opposition to this committee.' The case appears to us very simple. Lord Palmerston was opposed to the committee moved for by Mr. Roebuck. As Home Secretary he had spoken and voted against it, and as Premier he did his utmost on the 16th to induce the House to reverse their decision. In doing this he jeopardied the confidence of the country. But when he saw that effort was fruitless, that the House would not rescind its vote, that the nation demanded, and the House resolved on inquiry, he yielded, not from choice, but from necessity. He had no alternative unless he was prepared to resign his trust, and to leave the vessel of the State to be drifted without steersman or pilot amidst the currents which had set in. Three of his colleagues, however, deemed it compatible with their public duty to resign on this account, and they have since been followed by other members of the same political clique. We do not impugn their motives. We say nothing in disparagement of their patriotism. The violence and the bitterness of the onslaught to which they are subjected find no support from us, but we should be untrue to our own convictions if we did not say that their judgment was sadly at fault, and their public virtue

sacrificed to the dictate of private friendship and party alliance. The grounds of their secession, as set forth on the 23d, are utterly unsatisfactory. As the 'Times' of the 24th remarks, 'All that the public will see in this special pleading is an elaborate attempt to make the judge change places with the accused. If the House of Commons will only be so good as to give up inquiry on a vague promise of amendment, that will remove the very unpleasant stigma under which certain gentlemen find themselves.' The country has in truth resolved on inquiry, and we rejoice that it has done so. In the language of Sir J. Graham, we want 'to know the reason why' our money has been wasted, our honour tarnished, and our soldiers have perished. It is right that we should be told this, and we have no faith in any other investigation than that which is conducted by an independent and earnest tribunal. We have no faith in men who, as long as they were able, concealed from us the true state of the case, and now proffer future amendment as a reason why past delinquencies should be overlooked. The occasion was too tempting for Mr. Disraeli's evil genius, and we are not therefore surprised at the poor taunts with which he sought to throw discredit on his opponents. Had he been wise, he would not have added to the evidence previously furnished by himself and his leader of deep mortification at the failure of a Derby-Disraeli Government; but the silence which would have been dignified was surrendered at the bidding of folly. Mr. Roebuck's committee was afterwards appointed, and we trust that it will temperately yet firmly proceed with the inquiry intrusted to it.

What will be the result of these changes it is difficult to predict. Were the Premier equal to the occasion—did he possess, not only the nerve and the talent, but also the sagacity and high-mindedness which the position requires—he might make for himself a name not second to any in English history. We fear, however, that Lord Palmerston is not the man. His elevation is indicative of the domination of other interests than those of inflexible and far-seeing patriotism, and we tremble lest he should substitute for the fearless bearing and lion-hearted integrity which the times require the effete and paltry tactics of a clique. Should he attempt to fill up the vacancies created by mere aristocratic men, looking rather to the support of a few distinguished families than to the sympathy and confidence of a nation; should he seek to perpetuate the system which supposes statesmanship to be inherent in certain houses, and public offices to be the right of a clique, his failure will be miserable and well-merited. The superficial popularity attaching to his name will speedily be lost, and he will be known to posterity, not as the vigorous and successful minister who redeemed our affairs from disaster, but as the man who sacrificed on the altar of party, or rather to the lust of power, the noblest opportunity ever enjoyed of combining public advantage with personal fame. We are not unaware of the difficulties which oppose themselves to such a course, and we fear the Premier is not the man to despise them. Of this, however, we feel confident, that no other course will save his lordship's Cabinet, or retrieve our country from disgrace, and save our army from ruin. We perfectly agree with Mr. Roebuck, who, on the

6th, adverting to the negotiations then pending, said, 'If anybody throw any difficulty in his way, it was in his power to put aside that difficulty and to say to the person so attempting to create it, "Stand aside, I will put into office those who, if they do not attain the confidence of this House, will through me attain the confidence of the country, and I will do for the country that which I think the country desires I should do—namely, form an Administration regardless of party and of personal considerations." If the noble lord acted upon that principle, sure he was that he would attain the confidence of the country, and attaining that he might rest content, and not wish for any other kind of confidence.* One thing is apparent; inquiry is called for and it must be had. The nation has been outraged and will never be satisfied until delinquents are dismissed from the public service, and our governmental offices are freed from the miserable system which now renders them standing monuments of imbecility and neglect. We have been termed a nation of shopkeepers. The epithet has been intended as a reproach. We have admitted it, however, so far as it betokens a large infusion of business habits. This has been our boast, but it must be so no longer. A more inefficient, dilatory, bungling, and wasteful system was never adopted than that which is seen in our Eastern operations. Our offices at home have been in perpetual collision, and abroad our service has been in a condition too disgraceful to be appropriately designated. Our army has been starving, half-naked, and houseless, whilst food, clothing, and huts have been abundant in their neighbourhood. Our hospitals have been mere charnel-houses, where our wounded and dying soldiers have looked in vain for the medical attendance and sanitary regulations which their condition required. For details we refer to the daily press. They are too sickening to be specified, and too numerous to admit of doubt. We will mention only two facts of which we are personally cognizant. A ship-broker has just informed us that the French government has received from its agents in the Crimea so laudatory an account of the arrangements on board the steamers sent out by Sir Morton Peto and his partners to Balaklava, and of the admirable condition in which the men and horses have arrived, that they have commissioned him to make inquiries after vessels of similar construction and size. It is needless to contrast this fact with the accounts received of our government transports, nor does any information of the kind appear to have been transmitted to our authorities. It is also within our knowledge that several steamers engaged by private parties at the same time when others were taken up by the government

* We are grieved to learn from the journals of the 26th that our worst fears are realized. *A purely Whig Administration has been formed.* To adopt the language of the 'Daily News,' 'It is vain to try to conceal the disappointment and discontent with which the country will receive the announcement that the Government is once more to be monopolized by the members of a few great families, their retainers, and nominees.' Lord Palmerston has made his choice, and he will rue it. Lord John Russell takes the Colonies, and has issued an *Address* to his constituents. We cannot add more.

have arrived with their cargoes at Balaklava before the latter vessels had left the Thames.

THE SUBJECT OF NATIONAL EDUCATION HAS BEEN AGAIN SUBMITTED TO THE HOUSE. On Tuesday, the 23rd of January, Lord John Russell gave notice that on the following Friday he should move for leave to bring in a Bill on this subject. This was prevented by the ministerial changes which speedily took place, but on the 8th of last month his lordship, 'as a private member of Parliament,' brought on his motion, purposely abstaining from entering on a discussion of the measure, and simply urging 'that the Bill should be placed before the House, that it might be printed, and its provisions made known to the country.' Leave having been obtained, the Bill was brought in and read a first time. It consists of twenty-two clauses, and is certainly an improvement on its predecessors. As the 'Nonconformist' of the 14th observes, 'It leaves almost everything to local authority, insisting only on government inspection. Its machinery is simple. Its provisions liberal. It is the fairest embodiment of an unsound principle which has yet been put forth—so fair, that we can hardly anticipate that a dominant Church will acquiesce in its adoption.'

The main provisions of the Bill are—that Town Councils at meetings duly convened, where two-thirds of their members are present, may determine on a scheme of education to be submitted to the Education Committee of the Privy Council, and that in case such scheme be approved by the committee, it may be carried into effect, a rate for its support being levied, not to exceed sixpence in the pound. The plan is adapted further to parishes in which no municipal government exists, and may be altered from time to time with the approval of the Committee of Council. The management of the school is to be vested in the Town Council or Vestry, subject to government inspection, and to the rights of trustees or special visitors in the case of schools previously existing. The Scriptures are to be read, but no child of a Roman Catholic or Jew is required to be present without the sanction of his parents or guardians, and in no such school are the children of Protestant Dissenters, Roman Catholics, or Jews, to be required to learn the catechism, attend 'on church or other religious observances' without similar approval. We are glad that the Bill has been printed, as it will afford the opportunity to all parties of acquainting themselves with its provisions, and would advise our friends carefully to reflect upon them, and to prepare their measures wisely for the course to be pursued. Much has been gained by frequent discussion of the subject. The form in which it is now presented is unquestionably superior to its former appearances. Some objections are entirely obviated, and the force of others is considerably diminished. Still we abide by our objection to State interference in such matters. It will injure rather than benefit. The temporary good it accomplishes will be far outweighed by the evils it engenders. We have recently had another and most distressing illustration of the bungling manner in which Government competes with the private trader, and we see no reason to suppose that education will constitute an exception to the general law.

We object, moreover, and *in toto*, to the unconstitutional character of the Educational Committee of the Privy Council, and are not willing that the educational schemes of the country should wait the sanction of such a body. There is an assumption in this, against which we protest. Let us have the short-comings of local education rather than the torpid influence of an oligarchy, whose immediate benefit is purchased at the cost of expansive improvement and vital energy.

We had noted several other topics for remark, but our space is occupied, and we must refrain. The critical condition of our public affairs must plead our apology—if such be needed—for the attention we have given to them.

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